

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. SECOND SERIES.]

OCTOBER, 1867.

[No. 4

I.—THE DUELS BETWEEN—PRICE AND
PHILIP HAMILTON, AND GEORGE I.
EACKER.

HOBOKEN, SUNDAY AND MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22
AND 23, 1801.

The quiet of the little city of New York, nearly sixty-six years ago, was suddenly disturbed on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third of November, by reports of a difficulty between a young lawyer, of respectable standing, on one side, and two other young men respectively connected in the city, on the other; and on Tuesday these reports were followed by the following announcement, in the leading papers of the day:

[From *The New York Gazette, and General Advertiser*, No. 4964, Vol. XV. New York, Tuesday, November 24, 1801.]

"In consequence of a quarrel which originated at the Theatre on Friday evening, between George I. Eacker, Philip Hamilton, and young Mr. Price, a Duel was fought at Powles Hook on Sunday last by the former and the latter, when, it is said, three shots were exchanged without injury to either.

"Yesterday another Duel was fought by Mr. Philip Hamilton (oldest son of General Hamilton) and Mr. Eacker, at the same place. It is with extreme regret we mention, that Mr. H. was shot through the body just above the hip, the ball lodging in the left arm; and it is feared the wound will prove mortal."

[From *The Evening Post*, No. 8. New York, Tuesday, November 24, 1801.]

"DIED.

"This morning, in the 20th year of his age, PHILIP HAMILTON, eldest son of General Hamilton,—murdered in a duel.—

"As the public will be anxious to know the leading particulars of this deplorable event, we

have collected the following, which may be relied upon as correct.

"On Friday evening last, young Hamilton and young Price, sitting in the same box with Mr. George I. Eacker, began in levity a conversation respecting an oration delivered by the latter in July, and made use of some expressions respecting it, which were overheard by Eacker, who asked Hamilton to step into the lobby; Price followed—here the expression, *damned rascal*, was used by Eacker, to one of them, and a little scuffle ensued; but they soon adjourned to a public house:—an explanation was then demanded, which of them the offensive expression was meant for; after a little hesitation, it was declared to be intended for each: Eacker then said, as they parted, '*I expect to hear from you*;' they replied, '*You shall*;' and challenges followed. A meeting took place, between Eacker and Price, on Sunday morning; which, after exchanging four shots each, was finished by the interference of the seconds.

"Yesterday afternoon, the fatal Duel was fought between young Hamilton and Eacker. Hamilton received a shot thro' the body the first discharge, and fell without firing. He was brought across the ferry to his father's house, where he languished of the wound till this morning, when he expired.

"He was a young man of an amiable disposition and cultivated mind; much esteemed and affectionately beloved by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

"Reflections on this horrid custom must occur to every man of humanity; but the voice of an individual or of the press must be ineffectual without additional, strong and pointed legislative interference. Fashion has placed it upon a footing which nothing short of this can controul."

On the following morning, this statement was replied to in another paper, as follows:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 528, New York, Wednesday, November 25, 1801.]

"The paragraph which appeared in *The Evening Post* of yesterday, is a most gross, and, we

have reason to believe, *premeditated* misstatement of facts. The true causes which led to the duels fought by Mr. Eacker and Mr. Price, and the former and Mr. Philip Hamilton, are carefully, but dishonorably withheld from the public. What Mr. Coleman's motives were for penning such a misstatement can only be determined by the paragraph itself, which is a violent outrage on justice, on personal sensibility, and that delicacy which it was the duty of Mr. Coleman to have observed as an editor of a paper through which correct information *ought* to find its way to the public. Mr. Price, and the unfortunate Mr. Hamilton, were, we assure the public, the *aggressors*. They violently assaulted Mr. Eacker, whose conduct through every stage of the unfortunate affair, was perfectly honourable, and exempt from blame. They commenced the assault upon, and challenged Mr. Eacker. We cannot, however, at present, descend to particulars, but we shall, to-morrow, present to the public a full and correct statement of every material circumstance relating to the causes of the duels, authenticated by witnesses whose impartiality and credibility will not be questioned. Till then, we request the public to suspend their opinion."

On the same (Wednesday) morning, the following additional particulars of the dispute appeared in another of the daily papers :

[From *The New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, No. 4965, Vol. XV. New York, Wednesday, November 25, 1801.]

"DIED ;

"On the morning of the 24th instant, Mr. Philip Hamilton, eldest son of General Hamilton, in the 20th year of his age, of a wound received in a duel with Capt. George I. Eacker. Few events have so much interested the public, whether they consider the youth and promising talents of the deceased, the feelings of most affectionate parents, or the false honor to which his life was sacrificed.

"The duel was occasioned by some frolicsome and satirical expressions made by Mr. Hamilton and a young Mr. Price, at the Theatre, on the Friday preceding, about an oration of Mr. Eacker's, and in his hearing. This conduct Mr. Eacker resented in a very intemperate manner, collared Mr. Hamilton, called them damned rascals and villains, and said if he did not hear from them, he would treat them as such. Challenges were consequently sent to him by both.

"Mr. Eacker and Mr. Price met on the Sunday following, and after exchanging four shots, without injury to either, the seconds interfered. On Monday the fatal duel between Mr. Eacker and Mr. Hamilton took place. Young Hamilton was shot through the body, on the first discharge, and fell

without firing. He languished until the next morning, and then expired.

"He was a young man of a natural amiable disposition, of a strong and well cultivated mind. In August last, he took his first degree in Columbia College, and at the commencement delivered an oration remarkable for its correctness of sentiment, elegance of diction, and with that justness of elocution and propriety of gesture, that all hoped to see in him another HAMILTON. Let it be added, as the highest praise, that in his dying moments, he professed his belief in the Christian religion, and relied for pardon and mercy on the Saviour Jesus Christ.

"As to the part which Mr. Eacker has acted ; whether he was not too hasty in resenting the levities of youth ; whether he might not after the first duel, even on the principles of the world, have avoided the second, there is little disposition to discuss. Conscience is a just monitor, and there is a tribunal to which all are amenable. The custom of fighting duels should receive the highest reprobation ; as being not only directly opposed to that meekness and forbearance which Christianity enjoins ; but contrary to the dictates of humanity, and destructive of peace, order and happiness among mankind."

The *Evening Post*, on Wednesday evening, disclaimed any intention to misrepresent the facts ; and on the next day, Thursday, the following statement by the friends of Mr. Eacker, appeared in the columns of *The Citizen*, in response to those which had previously appeared in *The Evening Post* and *New York Gazette* :

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 529, New York, Thursday, November 26, 1801.]

"COMMUNICATION.

"The friends of Mr. Eacker consider themselves obliged, in consequence of the gross misstatements, omissions, and insinuated falsehoods, which have appeared in a morning and evening paper, to lay before the public the unfortunate causes which produced the truly melancholy catastrophe of Monday. They beg leave to assure the public, and Mr. Hamilton's friends in particular, that it is with the extremest regret they are obliged to give publicity to these circumstances. But their duty to Mr. Eacker, and to truth, compel them to undertake the painful task. They, at the same time, wish to be understood, that they had not the least idea that Mr. Hamilton's friends in any degree, directly or indirectly, authorized the publications above alluded to.

"During the representation of the play on Friday evening last, Mr. Eacker, being with a party in a stage box, heard some gentlemen talk unsu-

ally loud, and from certain words, perceiving their observations were pointed at him, looked round and saw Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Price laughing. He took no further notice of their conduct, but joined immediately in conversation with his party, and made use of every means to prevent its being observed by them, that he was the subject of ridicule to the gentlemen behind. Immediately preceding the pantomime, the box being full, Messrs. Hamilton and Price, leaving the opposite side of the house, again intruded into the box occupied by Mr. Eacker and his party. At the moment of their entrance, they commenced a loud conversation, replete with the most sarcastic remarks upon Mr. Eacker. Their manner was more indecent, if possible, than their conversation. Mr. Eacker himself, thus pointedly the object of contempt and ridicule, and his name being mentioned aloud, could no longer sustain the painful sensation resulting from his situation. He determined to leave the box and remonstrate with Mr. Hamilton, privately, in the lobby. As he stepped into the lobby with his back towards Messrs. Hamilton and Price, covered with agitation and shame to be thus treated, he exclaimed, 'It is too abominable to be publicly insulted by a set of rascals!' 'Who do you call damn'd rascals?' was the immediate enquiry, repeated again and again. Mr. Eacker felt anxious to avoid a broil in the theatre, and observed to the gentlemen that he lived at No. 50 Wall-street, where he was always to be found. 'Your place of residence has nothing to do with it,' was the reply. Upon this, some persons observing an intention, as they supposed, to assault Mr. Eacker, and desirous to prevent a disturbance in the theatre, stepped before the gentlemen, and with difficulty prevented their approaching Mr. Eacker. Mr. Eacker then requested them to make less noise, and proposed retiring to some private place. On the way to the tavern, irritating language passed among the gentlemen. Arriving at the tavern, Messrs. Price and Hamilton peremptorily insisted upon Mr. Eacker's particularizing the person to whom he had applied the appellation of *rascal*. Mr. Eacker demanded of them '*whether they came into the box on purpose to insult him.*' 'That is nothing to the purpose,' was the reply, '*we insist upon your particularizing the person you meant to distinguish by the appellation of rascal.*' 'Did you mean to insult me?' again repeated Mr. Eacker. 'We insist upon a direct answer,' was reiterated. 'Well then you are both rascals.' Upon leaving the house, Messrs. Price and Hamilton conducted themselves in such a manner, as would inevitably, if continued, have drawn the attention of persons in the street. Mr. Eacker said, 'Gentlemen, you had better make less noise; I shall expect to hear from you.' 'That you shall,' was the immediate reply. Mr.

Eacker returned to the theatre, and had not been there long before he received a message from Mr. Price, requesting him, in very laconic terms, to appoint his time and place of meeting. The unfortunate consequences are too well known to need repetition.

"From this statement it follows irresistibly:

"*First*:—That whilst Mr. Eacker was peacefully engaged in the amusements of the theatre, these gentlemen came twice to the box, and in the latter instance, when the box was already crowded, and thus proved a premeditated plan to insult Mr. E., and by sarcastic observations to make him an object of contempt.

"*Second*:—That Mr. Eacker behaved, considering the extremely difficult situation in which he was placed, with very considerable moderation; particularly at the tavern, where an opportunity was offered to disavow their intention to insult.

"*Third*:—That Mr. Eacker was innocently compelled to put his life repeatedly at the hazard to maintain his reputation, and that against men whom he had never offended—never injured; and to whom he had never spoken ten words during the whole course of his life."

On the evening of that day, (Thursday), *The Evening Post* contained a promise that, on the following evening, a statement would appear in its columns, containing "some things necessary to enable the public to form a correct judgment of the affair;" and on the following morning, Friday, *The Citizen* returned to the subject, with the following article:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 530, New York, Friday, November 27, 1801.]

"It is with deep and sincere regret that we find ourselves necessitated to notice the shameful paragraphs which have appeared in the *Gazette*, and in the *Evening Post*. In what we are about to say, it is not intended nor shall our observations be calculated to add additional wounds to the feelings of General Hamilton and his lady, or to those of the friends of the deceased, which are already, no doubt, sufficiently lacerated. It was our determination to have observed a respectful silence touching the melancholy event. Nor could anything have induced us to swerve from this determination, but the publication of the paragraphs alluded to, and a consequent necessary and very rational desire to counteract their baleful tendencies, by the promulgation of a candid and correct statement of facts. For, however we may differ in political sentiment from General Hamilton, *humanity* belongs alike to all, and ought to be alike respected by all. Truth, integrity and honor,

are virtues not exclusively possessed by any one factitious division of men. They are qualities of the heart that are by no means regulated by differences of political sentiment. We are sufficiently acquainted with the nature of man, to know that it does not necessarily follow, that he whose sentiments, whether religious or political, are opposed to my own, must on that account be wanting in morals, in which comprehensive term, truth, integrity and honor are included. We can feel for the distresses of others, even our opponents. And we despise the miscreant, who, to gratify party spirit, would wound the feelings of humanity, by discolouring truth, or the withholding of it, *knowingly*, from the public. But it cannot be, that in this case, misrepresentation can be acceptable to any.

"It has, however, been asserted, by many, that the atrocious paragraph penned by Mr. Coleman, was written by and with the consent of General Hamilton and his friends. We embrace this opportunity to declare (and we have had an opportunity of knowing much of the matter) our disbelief of the assertion. We have reason to believe, and we do sincerely believe, the rumor a *most unfounded one*. We most fully acquit, indeed we never suspected, that either General Hamilton or his friends, knew of, or consented to, the publication of the unprincipled and reprobate effusion. It was rather calculated to excite their indignation, by the assertion of dishonorable insinuations and vile falsehoods, than to please them. There can be no doubt, however, of its being intended by Mr. Coleman to injure the sensibility of Mr. Eacker, who was already sufficiently afflicted, without this superaddition of wanton, unnecessary, and *unmanly* offence. But this is a consistent item in the character of Mr. Coleman. It was expected from him: and, therefore it does not surprise those to whom he is *known*.

"If anything could add to the painful sensations felt by the parents and friends of the deceased Mr. Hamilton, it must be the wanton and cruel manner in which Mr. Coleman announced the fatal event. A fury of the most malignant kind could not have dictated a more dishonorable and offensive paragraph. 'Murdered in a 'duel!' O Shame! Shame, Mr. Coleman. In a strict legal sense the act may be termed 'murder': but your words convey another meaning. The idea of Mr. Hamilton's being 'murdered in a 'duel,' imports, as mentioned by you, that Mr. Eacker, availing himself of an undue advantage, shot Mr. Hamilton when unprepared. Than which nothing can be more untrue. For, after the word had been given by the seconds, a pause of a minute, perhaps more, ensued, before Mr. Eacker discharged his pistol. This pause was in consequence of Mr. Eacker having determined to wait for the fire of Mr. Hamilton, and also of the

latter, it appears, having come to a similar resolution. After having waited for some time, Mr. Eacker drew his pistol to level it with more accuracy, and at the same instant Mr. Hamilton did the same. Mr. Eacker, however, fired first, and Mr. Hamilton fired, with his pistol presented towards Mr. Eacker, as soon as the report of the fire of the latter was heard.* In the first fire, as already stated, Mr. Hamilton received his mortal wound. Take away the iniquity of duelling, and nothing can be more honorable and gentlemanly than the conduct of both parties. Mr. Hamilton was cool and collected both before and after he had received his wound, as well as Mr. Eacker, who exhibited, after the wound was given, all those appearances which no man could avoid on an occasion so solemn.

"We are anxious to avoid comments on the deceased Mr. Hamilton. We wish to speak well of the dead. But truth, and the cause of the living, as well as that of the dead, demand that facts be accurately stated.

"Mr. Coleman represents the conduct of Messrs. Price and Hamilton as nothing more than childish levity. It will be remembered, that Mr. Eacker is not many years older than either of the gentlemen. But the communication which we published yesterday shows that their conduct wore a more serious aspect than appertains to levity. It is apparent from the statement of facts published in yesterday's *Citizen*,† that the two gentlemen sought to insult Mr. Eacker. That they entered twice into the box where he and his companions were. That the first time, they applied to him insulting language, of which Mr. Eacker endeavoured to take no notice. This was during the play. That 'immediately preceding the pantomime,' Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Price returned from another part of the house to the same 'box,' where they again commenced a very insulting conversation; and lest Mr. E. should mistake them, mentioned his name. This conduct has about it something of a more serious nature than levity—it demonstrates, and we are sorry to say it, a predetermination to insult Mr. Eacker. It appears, however, that Mr. Eacker was determined to take no notice of the gentlemen, until the eyes of the audience in the neighboring boxes were fixed both upon them and himself. And then he called them out of the box into the lobby to remonstrate with them on the impropriety of their conduct. But it unfortu-

* It is not true as stated in the *Gazette* and in the *Evening Post*, that Mr. Hamilton fell without firing. The seconds of both parties acknowledge that he fired.

† It is written by a young gentleman who went to the theatre with Mr. Eacker and accompanied him through every stage of the controversy. This gentleman is a friend to Mr. Hamilton; but he is a man of honor and integrity, and he conceived it his duty to make the statement. Any person desirous to know the gentleman, shall be satisfied by calling at our office.

nately happened, that Mr. Eacker, when walking before them, uttered to himself these words: 'It is too abominable to be publicly insulted by a set of rascals.' It is very probable, nevertheless, that any man would have uttered similar expressions, under like circumstances. For 'nature cannot bear more than it can.' But we say it was unfortunate, since the gentlemen seized upon the words, and endeavoured to make that the basis of a quarrel, which was only the natural effect of their previous insult.

"But Mr. Coleman, not satisfied with having communicated to the public wanton and glaring misinformation, plunged himself, in Wednesday's *Evening Post*, deeper and deeper into misstatements and preposterousness. He says: 'Desirous that the public mind should not be pre-occupied by any misstatements, he early attempted to procure accurate information, and for that purpose applied to a gentlemen, who, although neither the second to Mr. Hamilton, nor in any way connected with him, yet from his concern in the affair, might be presumed to be capable of giving it.'

"But although Mr. Coleman had objections, as every man ought to have, against others 'pre-occupying the public mind with misstatements,' he had none, it would seem, against doing so himself. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Price were alone at the theatre, and no one was in the box with Mr. Eacker, but his friend and some very respectable ladies. It could not be, therefore, and Mr. Coleman and every other man must know it, that he could obtain correct information respecting the insult offered to Mr. Eacker in the theatre, from persons who were not there. Yet, upon this hearsay evidence, he pledges himself to the public, that the false statement which he published was true!

"But we accused Mr. Coleman of having withheld information from the public, for which he thought proper to bestow on the editor of the *Citizen* a very handsome compliment. This compliment shall be noticed in due time, and in a manner exactly suited to the character of Mr. Coleman. We will, however, show, in order to make good our assertion, that Mr. Coleman did withhold information from the public,

"The person to whom Mr. Coleman applied for information, in the first instance, must have known, it is fair to infer, from the manner in which he mentions his 'concern in the affair,' that Messrs Price and Hamilton challenged Mr. Eacker. This, indeed, could not have been unknown to Mr. Coleman himself. Willing, however, to discolour the fact, he leaves the matter extremely doubtful, whether the gentlemen challenged Mr. Eacker or not. Indeed, a man at a distance, judging from his statement, would conclude that Mr. Eacker was the challenger. This is withhold-

ing from the public information which he knew was true, and which he ought to have mentioned in his 'true statement of facts.'

"It is hardly necessary to notice Mr. Lang. His 'good nature' is easily imposed upon by those who write paragraphs, which appear as his own. We shall only just mention, therefore, that his statement is obviously false. Mr. Lang says, 'This conduct Mr. Eacker resented in a very in-temperate manner, collared Mr. Hamilton, called them damned rascals and villains, and said if he did not hear from them he would treat them as such.' This is an unfounded calumny, and we have no doubt, but that it will appear so, by the statement which the *Evening Post* of yesterday says the friends of Mr. Hamilton are preparing for the press. There was no collaring took place on either side. And the friends of Mr. Eacker say that he conducted himself 'with very considerable moderation.'

"We hope this is the last time we shall have occasion to mention this unfortunate affair. We wish it to slide quietly into oblivion. It would, perhaps, have been well, had the circumstances of the case ended with the duel."

On the afternoon of the same day, the following appeared in *The Evening Post*, further postponing the promised statement of young Hamilton's friends.

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 11. New York, Friday, November 27, 1801.

The Editor has to apologize for the delay of the interesting particulars promised in yesterday's paper. Some of the friends of the late unfortunate Mr. Hamilton, influenced by motives of strict justice and delicacy to Mr. Eacker and his friends, have had a meeting with some of them to adjust certain facts, and they now have it in their power to place the affair on very different grounds from those of vague report, and thus to provide against all future altercation, leaving to the good sense and discernment of the public to make up their judgment upon the facts. Such is the communication which will appear to-morrow."

On the following day, Saturday, the *Post* redeemed its promise, thus made, as follows:

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 12. New York, Saturday, November 28, 1801.

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"The friends of young Mr. Hamilton sincerely regret that the unfortunate affair, which terminated his life, should have become matter of newspaper discussion. But since it has so happened, they feel it to be due to his memory, that a correct statement of facts should vindicate him from

more blame than is imputable to him, and should show that the catastrophe which ensued, might probably have been avoided, if, in the subsequent stages of the transaction, the moderation, as well of Mr. H., as of his friends, had been favorably met. Under this impression they proceeded to submit to the public such statement, formed from the details of parties intimately connected with the whole affair.

"On the evening of Friday the 20th instant, at the Theatre, Mr. Hamilton and another young gentleman Mr. P——, went into a box where Mr. Eacker was, and entered into conversation together, casting pointed ridicule upon the oration delivered by Mr. Eacker, on the Fourth of July last, and afterwards printed. The relative situation was such that it is believed that those young gentlemen were not unwilling their observations should be overheard by Mr. E. Accordingly he did hear them, and in consequence left his seat and called Mr. H. out of the box into the lobby: Mr. P. went out also. Mr. E. seized Mr. H. by the collar and exclaimed, 'I will not be insulted by a set of rascals.' Mr. H. and Mr. P. severally demanded an explanation to whom he applied the epithet: no positive reply was then made. The parties, on the proposition of Mr. H. adjourned to a tavern—there the demand for explanation, as to the term rascals, was renewed. After some intermediate altercation, Mr. E. avowed his meaning to be that Mr. H. and Mr. P. were both 'Rascals.' The disputants shortly after separated; Mr. E. declaring as they parted, 'that he should expect to hear from them, and that if he did not, he should treat them as blackguards,' and they assured him that he should not be disappointed. Mr. P. immediately sent an invitation to Mr. E. to meet him, which was accepted.

"Mr. H. about 10 o'clock the same night, called on Mr. D. S. Jones, to communicate what had happened and consult as to the steps proper to be taken. After he had detailed the transaction (in substance as above stated) Mr. J. declared his extreme reluctance to take part in the affair, and his absolute determination not to do it until he had consulted Mr. H.'s near relation, Capt. Church, in concert with whom he would consent to engage in it. Mr. H. assented to this condition. Accordingly Mr. J. called on Capt. C.—gave him the information he had received and conversed with him as to the measures proper to be pursued. They united in opinion, that the retaliation of Mr. E. had been of so violent a nature as to render it impossible for Mr. H. to decline taking further notice of it; but that, considering all circumstances, and more particularly that the first offence was given by Mr. H. it would be fit that the first step to be taken should be such as to leave an opening for accommodation, with a view to which it was agreed that the message to

be sent to Mr. E. should be 'to require some explanation of the offensive expressions which he had used that night to Mr. H.' This message, with the approbation of Mr. H. was delivered to Mr. E. about half past eleven the same night, in the presence of Mr. Lawrence. Mr. E. replied that he had already received a message from Mr. P. and was engaged to him—that after attending to this engagement, Mr. J. should be informed when he might repeat his call. Some incidental conversation ensued, in the course of which Mr. E. asked whether 'he was to consider that communication as a direct challenge?' Mr. J. answered, 'certainly not; for such messages effectually shut the door to everything like negotiation.'

"Things remained in this situation until Sunday, between one and two o'clock, when having heard that the expected meeting with Mr. P. had taken place, Mr. Jones called upon Mr. Lawrence (who had accompanied Mr. E.) to learn the result—At this interview, Mr. L. intimated to Mr. Jones, and the intimation was afterwards confirmed by Mr. E. (who had then joined those gentlemen) that Mr. E. intended to write a note to Mr. J. to inform him that he was then at leisure to receive any communication from Mr. H. After receiving this intimation, Captain C. and Mr. J. again met—much conversation took place between them about the desirableness of an accommodation, which they both ardently wished—they agreed, that the attempt to effect it should be made; and that, with this view, the first thing to be done should be to endeavor to prevent the sending of the promised note—as its contents might, perhaps, increase the obstacles to a pacific adjustment. Having arranged the plan of proceeding, to avert, if possible, the necessity of going to extremities, Mr. J. waited on Mr. L. and informed him of the wishes of Capt. Church and himself, to have the sending of the note postponed, as he had overtures to make as to the accommodation; the discussion of which might be more difficult after its reception than in that of the affair. Mr. L. acceded to the justness of this remark, and readily promised to take measures, for affecting the postponement. Mr. J. then repeated to Mr. L., the earnest wish of Capt. Church and himself, for accommodation; and added, that although they acted in that respect without the knowledge or consent of Mr. H. yet, that they would pledge themselves for his performance of any engagement, which they might enter into on his behalf; that the extreme youth of Mr. H. would excuse Mr. E. for not pursuing so punctilious a course with him, as would be necessary with a person of riper age; that as Mr. E. had already met Mr. P. for the same cause of controversy, he might the more easily, and without danger of any imputation on his honor, meet

our wishes for accommodation—and that the relative situation of the two gentlemen, with regard to political opinions and connections, afforded a strong additional motive for moderation, lest an hostile issue might be referred to a spirit of party, which it was to be presumed could not be agreeable to Mr. E. Mr. Jones desired Mr. L. to repeat this conversation to Mr. E. and to impress these ideas upon his mind, as forcibly as he could, and then to offer this as the basis of accommodation; that Mr. E. should disavow the application of *rascal* to the general conduct and character of Mr. H. or in some way apologize for the insult of having called him so; this being done, they would procure from Mr. H. a proper apology for his conduct at the Theatre, upon their receiving assurance that it would be followed by a competent apology on the part of Mr. E. for his subsequent conduct and expressions. Mr. L. who entered readily into the negotiation and appeared sincere in his wishes for its success, then parted from Mr. J. for the purpose of making this communication to Mr. E. and about three o'clock in the afternoon returned to Mr. Jones, and told him, that he had had the proposed conversation with Mr. E. who had not acceded to the proposition which Mr. Jones had requested Mr. L. to make; and also, that Mr. E. had not authorized him to make any overtures towards an accommodation; but left Mr. Jones with this remaak, 'in truth, Jones, from Mr. E.'s present disposition of mind, I am persuaded there are very feeble, if any hopes of accommodation.' It is proper to add, that Mr. L. observed to Mr. J. in the course of his conversation, that Mr. E. appeared more irritated against Mr. H. than against Mr. P. as he considered Mr. H. the principal in the affair.

"Mr. J. now considered the attempt at negotiation completely defeated, and remained at home in expectation of receiving the communication from Mr. E.; this was received about half-past five in the afternoon.

"Shortly afterwards the first message, on the part of Mr. H. was repeated to Mr. E.—in substance *'requiring an explanation of the expressions which he had made use of to Mr. H. at the Theatre on Friday night.'* The bearer of this message observed, that perhaps it had come in a shape which was somewhat unexpected, and Mr. E. might therefore wish to consult his friends previously to giving his answer—if so, he, the bearer, would retire for a short time, and either return or remain at home for the answer.—Mr. Eacker adopted the idea, and appointed fifteen minutes for the return of the bearer. At the expiration of that time he came back. Mr. E. first undertook to deliver his answer verbally, but after some hesitation and embarrassment of expression, he drew from his pocket a paper from which he read it—it was to this effect, *'the ex-*

'pressions I made use of towards Mr. Hamilton at the Theatre on Friday night last, were produced by his conduct on that occasion; I thought them applicable then, AND I THINK SO STILL.'

"The bearer of the message conceiving this reply to be a reiteration of the offence, rendered particularly emphatical by what had intervened, and that any further effort to accommodate was not only hopeless but would have been dishonorable to Mr. H. felt himself bound, by the posture of the affair, and by his previous arrangement with Mr. H., to declare to Mr. E. that such being the answer, he was instructed to request a meeting; and since things had come to this issue, though he was unwilling to urge haste, yet, as the numerous relations and friends of Mr. H. would be made extremely unhappy should they obtain a knowledge of the transaction beforehand, it was desirable the interview should take place without delay. In consequence arrangements were shortly after made for a meeting the next day.

"In the meantime Mr. H. still reflecting, that in the origin of the controversy, the blame lay with him, averse in principle to the shedding of blood in private combat, anxious to repair his original fault as far as he was able without dishonor, and to stand acquitted to his own mind, came to the determination to reserve his fire, receive that of his antagonist, and then discharge his pistol in the air. This determination was communicated to his friend, who was instructed to avow the motive of his forbearance after Mr. H. should have thrown away his fire, and to submit to Mr. E. to decide for himself what was then to be done on his part, and whether he would proceed in the affair; with the intention of Mr. H. to let it end there, if Mr. E. should then see fit to make a suitable reparation for the violent effect of his resentment.

"Unhappily the first fire of Mr. E. took effect, and by mortally wounding Mr. H. defeated the execution of this generous intention. In the shock of the wound his pistol went off in the air, evidently without a deviation from the original resolution, which was speedily after declared by his friend on the ground.

It is but a small tribute of this estimable but unfortunate young man, to say, that the witnesses to this fatal scene testify the display of a steady resolution on his part, which evinced the most deliberate courage. His confidential friends declare that throughout the progress of the affair, subsequent to the first error, his behaviour was remarkably temperate, and that he possessed himself perfectly. His manner on the ground was calm and composed beyond expression. The idea of his own danger seemed to be lost in anticipation of the satisfaction which he might receive from the final triumph of his generous moderation. While lying in the arms of his friend, in all the

torture of the first effects of so severe a wound, he kindly urged the second of his adversary to withdraw from danger—forgetting his own situation in the concern for the safety of others.

"He received the wound about three o'clock, and languished till five the next morning in the full possession of his faculties, supporting the pain of his situation with the utmost fortitude, without a murmur or a reproach—soothing occasionally his afflicted parents, and piously resigned to the event.

"An interview took place on the evening of Thursday last, between Mr. D. S. Jones and Mr. Lawrence, in the presence of J. B. Church Esq., and William Cutting, Esq., for the purpose of agreeing on a statement of facts, so far as Mr. J. and Mr. L. had a mutual agency in conducting the affair; at which interview the truth of the above statement in whatever has relation to that agency, received the full assent of both these gentlemen."

On the following Monday, *The Post* published the following, supplementary to the above :

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 13, New York, Monday, November 30, 1801.]

"COMMUNICATION.

"Conceiving it possible that the public may understand from the note subjoined to the communication by Mr. Hamilton's friends in *The Evening Post* of Saturday last, that the facts agreed upon by Mr. Jones and Mr. Lawrence, in the presence of John B. Church, Esq., and William Cutting, Esq., extended to the whole of that statement, we are authorized and required by the parties to remark, that the facts alluded to are those only in which Mr. Jones and Mr. Lawrence had a *mutual agency*, viz : commencing with the interview which took place between Mr. Jones and Mr. Eacker in the presence of Mr. Lawrence, and terminating with the conversation in which Mr. Lawrence informed Mr. Jones that the overtures made through him were not acceded to; had no reference to the previous transactions at the Theatre, or to the interview at the Tavern, between Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Eacker."

"The following note was to have been added to the statement of the Duel in Saturday evening's paper, making it by a reference apply to the words 'riper age' near the bottom of the first column:—

"Mr. Hamilton was not 20 years of age; Mr. Eacker's age is not precisely ascertained; it is believed to be about 30, and *known* to be at least 27."

On the following day, Tuesday, *The Citizen* continued the discussion as follows :

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 533, New York, Tuesday, December 1, 1801.]

"We now lay before the public *all* the authoritative documents relative to the causes which produced the late duels. Upon these documents *alone*, the public are to form their opinion of the conduct of the principals concerned. All the observations that have been made respecting the duels that have caused so much sensibility in the public mind, are to be laid aside, and viewed, if viewed at all, as extraneous matter. The following statement was published by the authority of Mr. Lawrence, a gentleman of undoubted honor and veracity, who accompanied Mr. Eacker to the Theatre, and who was privy to all the material circumstances that produced the duels.—EDITORS.

The Citizen then copied entire the elaborate article which had already appeared in its own columns on the preceding Thursday, (*ante*, pp. 194, 195); the still more elaborate statement, by Mr. Hamilton's friends which had appeared in *The Evening Post*, of the succeeding Saturday, (*ante*, pp. 197–200)—the last preceded by a statement that "it will be understood that Mr. Lawrence *assents* to the accuracy of the following statement, so far only as Mr. Jones and himself had a *mutual agency* in the facts related in it. "The extent of this *agency*, however, ought to be known. The mutual agency commenced with overtures for reconciliation, and terminated with them. To every *other* circumstance related in the following narration, Mr. Lawrence, "we understand, does not assent;"—and the note, which had appeared in the same paper as the last, concerning the interview between Messrs. Jones and Lawrence, (*ante*, pp. 200), and these were followed by the following original article :

"COMMUNICATION.

"A friend of Mr. Eacker, in reply to those of Mr. Hamilton, will be as brief as possible. There is a propriety in terminating discussions which it is known are a bed of torture to the friends and relatives of Mr. Hamilton, as well as Mr. Eacker. Not supposing the two statements to be materially different in regard to the circumstances of the dispute which brought on the melancholy affair, he would only notice

one omission which is attributed to inadvertence, and that is the repetition of an offence, as detailed by Mr. Lawrence after a considerable interval, not solely confined to 'pointed ridicule upon his 'oration,' but personally extended to him in other respects. Without deeming it material, it is farther to be remarked, both from motives of equal justice to the moderation of Mr. Eacker, and to the honor of Mr. Hamilton, that the belief of Mr. Eacker's having collared Mr. Hamilton, must have been founded on a mistake. It must be destroyed by a reflection which it is thought is conclusive. Unconscious from what source or grounds the persuasion was derived, it is submitted, whether it is probable that a gentleman of Mr. Hamilton's lively temper and spirit, in demanding an explanation at the time of the dispute, and afterwards, would have confined himself to an *epithet* without taking notice of so great an indignity as a *personal assault*?

"Without presuming to regulate public opinion on the much lamented event, it cannot be improper to make some further observation, as imperative necessity seems to require it.

"It is remarkable to see the difference between a statement of facts, detailed by men of a nice sense of honor, or by editors whose servile and unprincipled dispositions influence them to distort truth in so solemn a case as this.

The indecent paragraphs alluded to, particularly that in the *Evening Post*, cannot be much counteracted. It is impossible for any man of sentiment to read without horror a publication so totally destitute of truth, and which appears to have been fabricated with the wicked and malicious intention of wounding the feelings of Mr. Eacker's friends, and of destroying his peace of mind forever. With pleasure do they remark, that the universal reprobation of the conduct of the editor of that paper, in publishing the villainous and diabolical paragraph, is a proof of the detestation in which he is held by the friends of Mr. Hamilton themselves, who have not less execrated it, than those against whom it was directed. This much is necessary to be said, to place in a proper point of view the atrocious misrepresentations which have gone forth, against the inclination, and to the indignation, as it is firmly believed, of Mr. Hamilton's friends.

"It is no more than common justice, that Mr. Eacker's friends should evince a solicitude for his happiness equal to the just regard which Mr. Hamilton's friends have evinced for his memory.

"With this view, the following remarks are made upon the statement of Mr. Hamilton's friends, from which it appears :—

"*First* :—That Mr. Eacker received the *first* insult, and one which considering the time, place and circumstances, was *wanton, unprovoked, 'pointed,'* and of the *grossest* kind.

"*Second* :—That Mr. Eacker was the person challenged.

"*Third* :—That no overture of accommodation was made to Mr. Eacker, with the *knowledge or consent* of Mr. Hamilton.

"*Fourth* :—That the written answer of Mr. Eacker may be considered, and must have been intended as opening the door to a negotiation; for by this answer it appears, that Mr. Eacker was willing to restrict the expressions used towards Mr. Hamilton, to the particular conduct which occasioned them, without intimating that his general deportment merited them.

"*Fifth* :—That the *unauthorized* overtures made by the friends of Mr. Hamilton, were uniformly accompanied with the *sine qua non*, that Mr. Eacker, who it is admitted by all, was the gentleman *first insulted*, should make the *first* concession. If, then, Mr. Hamilton could have been prevailed upon to have made any acknowledgment, Mr. Eacker was to make a *farther*, and a *second* apology. It was impossible for Mr. Eacker not to be shocked with the proposition, which he, no doubt, thought, and was in fact, *indelicate*.

"Had he acceded to it, he must have been humbled in his own eyes, and in those of the world. This would easily account for Mr. Eacker's state of mind as mentioned by Mr. Lawrence, in addition to the consideration, that an offence from Mr. Hamilton, who has always borne the character of a gentleman in society, and who was so respectably connected, was well calculated to inflict a deeper wound than an insult offered by his unworthy companion, whose future conduct, must be very different from his past life, if he ever means to merit that honorable appellation. A man whom Mr. Eacker was COMPELLED to meet, in consequence of his CONNECTION with Mr. Hamilton in the insult.

"*Sixth* :—Every friend of humanity must regret that Mr. Hamilton, who according to the statement of his friends admitted 'the blame in 'the origin of the controversy to lay with him,' was permitted to expose his life in the manner he did. It is not intended to detract from the praise due to his generous resolution of not attempting the life of his adversary. It is to be remarked, however, that he, or the friends of the gentleman, if they advised the measure, did not perceive that nothing would have justified it, but a consciousness of his being in fault, in which case, it would certainly have reflected no dishonor upon him to have tried to procure an accommodation by some small concession on his part. In short it is evident, that the *total and absolute humiliation of the first insulted*, Mr. Eacker, would have been the inevitable consequence of a different conduct on his part. With respect to the relative ages of the parties, it is proper to remark, that from the

nice etiquette, and scrupulous punctilio which the friends of Mr. Hamilton manifest for his honor, it is evident, that they regarded him in the same light as Mr. Eacker, to wit, as one who was accountable for his acts, and whom Mr. Eacker could not avoid treating as a gentleman, had he had the disposition to do otherwise. Besides, is it reasonable to expect concessions and sacrifices of honor and feeling from one of 'twenty-seven,' the true age of Mr. Eacker, to a young man of 'twenty,' which a gentleman more advanced in years could not request?

"IT IS CLEAR, that aberrations from accepted and usual rules, are more to be expected from a 'young,' man, than one who is at an age, when ideas of honor and propriety are most strong."

On the evening of the same day, Tuesday, *The Evening Post* thus responded to the last article in *The Citizen*:

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 14. New York, Tuesday, December 1, 1801.]

"The Editor requests the writer of the Communication in the *American Citizen*, this morning, who styles himself a friend of Mr. Eacker, to descend a little more to particulars than he has chosen to do in that part which relates to the editor; and to show wherein the statement made by him on Tuesday last, of the late unfortunate duel, betrays a *servile and unprincipled disposition to distort truth*; and what are the writer's reasons for declaring that statement *totally destitute of truth*; and wherein it appears to him to have been *fabricated with the wicked and malicious intention of wounding the peace of Mr. Eacker's friends, and of destroying his peace of mind forever*. The writer will also be pleased to state his reasons for calling the publication above alluded to a *villainous and diabolical paragraph*, and to point out wherein consists its *atrocious misrepresentations*."

"With the opinion which the writer expresses, that the conduct of the Editor, on that occasion, has met with *universal reprobation*, he will not meddle; he submits to the decision of the public, without reply or comment; neither will he remark upon what the writer considers a *proof of the detestation in which the Editor is held by the friends of Mr. Hamilton themselves*, farther than to observe, that if this was true, they would hardly have chosen the *Evening Post* as the first vehicle for their statement to the public. He feels himself authorized to add, that the terms on which he has since stood with the nearest connections of Mr. Hamilton, while it refutes the calumnious insinuation, affords him a consolation, equally grateful to his sensibility, and flattering

to his pride. He is satisfied with having acted from upright motives, and he is assured, that they have been properly appreciated by those whose esteem is dear to him.

"Nothing is more painful than to be under the necessity of prolonging the memory of a melancholy event, which could not too soon have been withdrawn from public observation—but the Editor owes it to his own character and feelings to demand from the writer who has indulged himself in such harsh expressions, the ground upon which he justifies their use."

We have not discovered that the Editor of *The Evening Post* was gratified by *The Citizen's* correspondent; and with a brief article which appeared in *The Commercial Advertiser*, on the same day—in which Mr. Eacker was charged with the crime of Murder—and a brief rejoinder to that article, which appeared on the following morning, Wednesday, in *The Citizen*, the Press seems to have dropped the subject. That rejoinder was in the following words:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 534, New York, Wednesday, December 2, 1801.]

"Several articles in this day's paper were omitted yesterday, to give place to the whole of the documents furnished by the friends of the parties in the late unfortunate duel. Had not the feelings and character of Mr. Eacker been assailed with unparalleled malignity by persons having no knowledge of the affair but from report, we should have remained totally silent. It appears that the spirit of revenge is not yet satiated. In the *Commercial Advertiser* of yesterday are remarks intended to be understood as coming from the editor of that paper, unparalleled for cruelty and misrepresentation. Is it not sufficient for this writer to hear of Mr. Eacker being insulted by two young men in a gross and public manner—is it not sufficient that his life should be twice put at hazard, or be stigmatized as a coward? No; all this is not sufficient for a mind that thirsts for revenge. Nothing short of the destruction of an innocent person can satisfy. Because Mr. Eacker resented an insult too notorious not to be noticed; because he accepted challenges, the refusal of which would have subjected him to the insults of his enemies; because he would not make the first overtures for accommodation, when he was not the aggressor; in fact, because he was so fortunate as to escape with his life, the malignant spirit of this writer is determined not only to wound Mr. Eacker's feelings, already made tender by the melancholy catastrophe, but imprecates the vengeance of heaven to

torture him forever. In the name of Virtue and Humanity, how long will men be found whose savage temper cannot be equalled even amongst the prowling tigers and ferocious wolves of the wilderness.

We have been favored, however, with a fragment of a private letter, written by a gentleman who was acquainted with all the parties to this affair; and we take pleasure in adding it to the published testimony in the case:

NEW YORK, NOV 21: 1801

DEAR SISTER

Papa and Sally arrived here after a tolerably pleasant passage of about two days. On Monday next the 23^d Inst we expect to remove from our present place of residence, Mr Chesebrough's, to a House we have taken until May at the rate of £120 pr year, situated two doors from Greenwich in Jay Street, which runs parallel with Dey Street and at about Six or Seven Streets north of it. The House is at a very short distance from the residence of the Rhineland Family—Some time in the course of next week Papa or myself will go to Bethlehem after Clarissa: from whom we have received no news for a considerable time. Should I go myself I shall take Philadelphia in my way; at least in returning.—Nothing very important has occurred in Town, lately, except the promulgation of the news of the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France being signed; which has caused much surprise and anxiety among the commercial part of the community here. The Theatre opened last monday evening with *Lovers Vows* and *Fortunes Frolic* to a very numerous, but extremely ante-brilliant audience. Our Corps at present consists entirely of the last year's Troop, with the addition of the eccentric and splendid *Cooper*. Whether the Union Balls will be reinstituted this season or not remains as yet in dubiety.—We yesterday received a letter from John dated Dublin 2^d Sep in which he informs us that he is about to sail in two hours for Bordeaux from whence he will proceed to the South of France; where he will continue 4 or 5 months. Should he prosecute this Jaunt, I am confident, from the circumstance of Peace having taken place, which will invite into France all the nobility and persons of wealth and fashion from Great Britain and the Continent, it must be a prolific source of instruction and pleasure. John's letter to you will have arrived previous to, or inclosed in this.—Poor Boy! feelingly do I sympathize with thee; while so pathetically bewailing the wretchedly confined situation of thy dear Sweet ducky donna Signora *damma Floretta*!—condemned to cells dark dank and drear and lonely as those of her *warm* and tender prototype the enamour'd *Eloisa*! Ah Johnny!

Poetry, either in extemporizing or quoting it never was, nor ever will be thy *forte*! For alas! in giving us a *touch* of the narrative—pathetic, thou hast mistaken the words most * * * *

an adjournment to a public House was proposed—where H & P demanded of E. whom he meant to call rascal &c. whether he meant to implicate both, (H and P) in the expression &c.—E, answered yes, that they had both behaved like rascals—that he should expect to hear from them—and if not he would treat them both like blackguards &c. They answered that he *should* hear from them &c.—Mr. E return'd to his party, where at about 10 o'clock he received a challenge from Price to meet him the next day but one (Sunday) at 12 o'clock at Hoebuck—and the next day (Saturday) one from H to meet him Monday at the same Hour and place. In consequence of this, A meeting ensued between E, and P, at the time and place appointed towit on Sunday. Mr. Lawrence as second to E, Mr James Lynch to P,—three shots each were fired, when the seconds interposed—but the combatants being *both* inclined to take another shot and agreeing, that after that, they would *shake hands*, A fourth took place, but without effect, when a reconciliation ensued: P, at the same time observing that E, was such a damn'd lath of a fellow, that he might shoot all day to no purpose. On Monday before the time appointed for the meeting between E, & H, General Hamilton heard of it and commanded his Son, when on the ground, to reserve his *fire* 'till after Mr E, had shot and then to discharge his pistol in the air The combatants appeared on the ground at time appointed—Cooper the Player as second to E, and David Jones to H,—the distance was measured—the signal given E, fired—H, fell! his Pistol still loaded he was immediately placed in a boat which was rowed with the greatest rapidity to this shore, where he was landed near the State Prison—all the Physicians in Town were called for, and the news spread like a conflagration—At the Theatre I was informed of it about 9 O'clock Monday evening—I immediately ran to the House near the State Prison from whence I was told they dare not remove him—Picture to yourself my dear Girl the emotions which must have assailed me on my arrival at his room to which I was admitted as his old College classmate! On a Bed without curtains lay poor Phil, pale and languid, his rolling, distorted eye balls darting forth the flashes of delirium—on one side of him on the same bed lay his agonized father—on the other his distracted mother—around him numerous relatives and friends weeping and fix'd in sorrow—blanch'd with astonishment and affright was the countenance, which a few moments before was illumined by the smile of merriment.—I could continue in the room but a very short time

—returning Home I quickened my pace almost unconsciously, hoping to escape the image as well as the reality of what I had witnessed!—It appeared that the Ball had enter'd the right side just above the hip Bone, passed through the body and lodged in the left arm—Yesterday, tuesday, I was invited to attend his funeral at 4 o'clock that afternoon.—Although the day was very rainy, and the burial took place so unexpectedly soon after the decease, he having died tuesday morning at 4 or 5 o'clock, the followers were very numerous and respectable. His poor father was with difficulty supported to the grave of his hopes!—Oh God! Cold as the humid clod which now covers his Body, is the form which but a few Hours since was animated and joyous as the Bird which perches on his grave!—If before I send this, any thing new occurs you shall be informed of it—

WEDNESDAY, Decr 9th

Mr Thurston as I am informed is about returning Home to day—As this news came rather unexpectedly you will allow me to conclude this in a very desultory way.

We have not yet arranged ev'ry thing in the House as we intended but are in a fair way of being settled soon—Clara has not yet arrived, as it has been impossible for either Papa or myself to go after her—Fennel has joined our Company Nothing yet has transpired relative to the resumption of the Union Balls—The Death of young Hamilton has been the topic of Tea table conversation and the theme of Newspaper essayists for two weeks past, and People have been foolishly influenced by Political principles in deciding on the merits of the transaction! But

"In spite of pride in erring reason's spite,"
"One truth is clear, whatever is, is right."

Clara or Sally will I expect in the course of the winter change situations with you and give you opportunity of alternating the Country and Town Amusements—I understand Miss Ann Constable is about being married to Mr Pierpont a Gentleman of fortune (*as it is said*) I have not time to write any thing more than this—Write me by first opportunity or I will &c &c adieu, love to all—

THOS W RATHBONE

In response to enquiries from several of our subscribers, we have thus presented all the papers in our possession concerning this lamentable affair; and as there has been no opinion asked, and none seems to be called for, we leave the subject with our readers.

H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

II.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMA-MENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.—CONTINUED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE XXXVTH BOOK OF THE
"HISTORIA GENERAL Y NATURAL DE INDIAS,"
BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VAL-
DEZ.

CHAPTER II.

The preceding chapter relates how the Spaniards determined to go to Aute. On their way, the Indians beset them in the bad passage-ways and lakes, killing one and wounding five or six, besides doing injury to some horses. Journeying eight or nine days they arrived, from Apalache, but found all the houses burned, and many fields in which the maize was ready for use. Two days later Cabeça de Vaga being ordered with Andres Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo to go with nine cavalry and fifty men on foot in quest of the sea, they took the Commissary with them and started, the Governor remaining by the others, of whom the greater part were sick, and the number of them increasing every day.

One may readily believe that by this time the reverend father could be content to be within the cell he left in Spain, rather than in these parts, looking after grennial and mitre, which seduce some not to part with their time only, but with life. Even those who serve God forget themselves when they are encased in dignities the fewer rise to; and I would they did not adventure their souls in that pursuit. Those without ambition or desire of prelacies, who work unselfishly the better to serve Him in the conversion of those Indians, with an honest, meritorious and holy desire, are such here as harvest the grain, and for the rest, Heaven mend them.

The troop, on the day it left Aute, arrived at some shoals by the sea, where it rested that night. In the morning, twenty men were detached to examine the coast. These reported that they could not explore it for being distant; with this all went back to camp, where the Governor, Comptroller and Inspector, with many others, were fallen sick.

VII. After a day's repose, the people departed for the place whence the sea had been observed or found, taking with them all the maize they could carry, and arrived with great difficulty, the sick being numerous and unable to yield assistance. For two days they remained, casting about and reflecting upon what means were within reach to save life and escape out of the country.

The building of vessels appeared impracticable. They had no nails, tow, resin, nor other thing that for the purpose are indispensable; and, as necessity already drove them to extremity, they took their stirrups, bridle-bits and spurs for iron; of wood were made pipes, and with deer-skin the bellows, when from the iron were made tools.

As the men were thin and not able to work, a horse was slaughtered every third day, which, being divided among the laborers and the sick, others worked to eat of the meat. In four or five visits made to Aute by the cavalry and most robust of the men, much maize was brought back, sufficient for use in the time they were there, with some to take away. Under these circumstances boats were commenced on the fourth day of August. They were caulked with the husks of palmetto, of which rope was also made, and daubed with pitch of pine trees, which were in plenty; of shirts were made sails, and of the hide of horse's legs were made bags to hold water. In the time the vessels were being built, ten Christians were killed, traversed from side to side by the arrow, while engaged in fishing around those banks in sight of the camps, without the possibility of giving them succour.

From the place where the ships were left to where these boats were built was, according to the opinion of the greater number traveling there, about two hundred and eighty leagues; and in all that distance they saw no mountains, nor could they hear of any. The people are in stature very large, have fine bearing and elegant manners. Every one has the use of the bow, and is a true shot. The bows are ten or twelve palms in length; nearly as large round as the wrist; powerful and excellent wood. What an arrow will go through is incredible; a feat that must be seen to be believed.

On the twentieth day of September, five boats were finished, each twenty-two cubits in length. About forty men had there died of sickness. The Governor had taken one of the boats for himself and forty-eight men; another he gave to the Comptroller and the friars with forty-seven men; to the Treasurer and the Inspector, another with forty-eight men; to the Captain Tellez and Penaloza, to Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes, he gave two more, in each of which were forty-eight men. The horses having been consumed, the people embarked on the twenty-second day of September.

As the vessels were small, when the provisions, clothing and arms were on board, they were deeply laden, not more than a *zeme** above water. In this condition they sailed seven days among those shoals, until the unfortunates arrived on a

small islet near the main, and found some ranchos, whence they took five canoes. The same day they went to the coast, not until then observed, where they stopped, and put waist-boards about their boats, made from the canoes, so that they sat two palms more above the sea; and, this done, they went on their way. Entering into many bays and among shoals that appeared along the shore, the land ever ahead of them, they continued on without knowing whither.

One night a canoe came out, following them for a little while. They turned about to speak it, but it would not hearken: and as the canoe is a very fast vessel, it got away: so the Christians returned on their course. Next morning a storm overtook them and they anchored at an island, but found no water, of which there was much want. They tarried there three days; and as it was then the fifth in which they had not drank, some took salt-water in such quantity that five or six suddenly died. Although the storm was not over, as the thirst was insupportable, they concluded to go in the direction they had seen the canoe depart, commending themselves to God, as it was at the risk of life. They crossed, and at sunset arrived at a point offering shelter, with moderate sea. Some canoes came out and spoke to them: they followed the distance of a full league to houses along the shore on the edge of the water, before which were many jars and pots of water, with abundance of fish. The Cacique came out as the Governor jumped on land, and took him to his house: he offered him the fish and water, in recompense for which the Christians returned bread, hawkbells, and some of their maize. At night, when the two were together, many Indians fell upon the Christians, killing three men lying sick on the shore, and striking the Governor on the head with a stone. Those present seizing upon the Cacique, he threw them off, leaving in their hands a very fine robe he wore of civet marten. These skins, Cabeza de Vaga says, were excellent, the best he ever saw, and the like the others declared. They had the odor of musk. Other marten skins in robes were taken; yet none such as these. The Governor, injured and sick, was put on board, with all who were unwell or weak. Three times were the Christians attacked that night; but in the end were let alone. Many of the Indians got well sabred, and many of the Spaniards were sorely wounded. After this affair, the Christians remained there two days; but saw no more natives.

Thence the Christians went on in their vessels. At the end of three or four days they entered among some estuaries, and coming upon a canoe with Indians, asked for water, giving them a little jar to bring it in. Two Christians went with them; and two natives, remaining as hostages, were hindered from throwing themselves into the water. In the

* The distance from the end of the extended forefinger to that of the thumb. TRANSLATOR.

morning, canoes beginning to come, the Spaniards left the estuaries and went out to sea, where in little more than an hour were twenty canoes under three or four principal persons, who wore robes of the very fine fur mentioned, with their locks long and loose. These asked for their men, and in turn they were asked for those they had. The Christians were told to come to their houses, but refused; for the country was much overflowed and abounded in estuaries. As the hostages were kept, and the Spaniards would not go, the natives assailed them with staves and some arrows, bringing on a skirmish, after which they returned.

X. Our people went on, and at the close of the second day, the boat in which the Treasurer was, arrived at a point made by the coast, behind which was a river flowing in freshet, broad and much enlarged. A little way back approached the boat of the Governor, which, with the others, anchored at some islands near by. The Treasurer went out to them and made known the discovery of the river. As no wood was found by which to parch maize, and the people had eaten it raw for two days, they concluded to go to the river, the water of which was dipped fresh from the sea; but on approaching near, the strong current at its mouth did not permit them to land; and in striving to reach the shore, the wind sprang up from the north, when these together drove them farther to sea. They sailed that night and next day, until the night, when they found themselves in three fathoms depth of water. Having seen many smokes that evening along the coast, they dared not land in the dark, and came to anchor. The current being strong, and the anchors no more than bags of stone, the boats were taken out to sea; and when day dawned they could not see each other, nor discern the land.

Thus Alvar Nunez Cabeça de Vaca, who gives this account, kept his way until noon, when he discovered two of the boats. Coming up with the nearest, he found it to be the Governor's, when they spoke. Narvaez asked his opinion as to what should be done. The Treasurer said they ought to join the boat in sight, and then they would go wheresoever he might direct. The Governor said he meant to reach the land by rowing, and that the Treasurer must do the like by his boat. So he was followed for the matter of a league and a half, until the men, weak and exhausted, for three days having eaten only the ration of a single handful of raw corn each day, could not keep up with the Governor, whose boat had more speed, was lighter and less encumbered, when the Treasurer besought him to order an end thrown to his boat; but the Governor answered that he could not, that it was not a time to wait for any one, and each should endeavor to do the best he was able to save his own life.

Not so responded that famous Count of Niebla, Don Enrique de Guzman, who, at Gibraltar, gathered in others to his boat until he and they were drowned together. The Treasurer and those with him did not wish Narvaez to take them, yet asked that he would give them a rope's end, whereby his boat might assist theirs on her way; and giving it, at any time was it in his power to let her go at convenience.

Returning to the account: having heard the unkind response of the Governor Pamphilo, the Treasurer followed for a little time until he lost sight of him; and then he bore away for the other boat at sea, being the one commanded by Penalosa and Captain Tellez, which waited for him. The two sailed together three hours, until nightfall. In consequence of that, the people suffered from extreme hunger; and from being wet the night before by the waves, they were all lying around, not five of them being able men. Thus wore away the night; and at four o'clock, the master of the boat belonging to the Treasurer threw the lead and found seven fathoms depth of water. As the sound of the breaking waves was very loud, they remained out until sunrise, when they found themselves a league from land, and putting the bows toward the shore, God be praised, they reached there in safety.

XI. Directly the Treasurer sent a man to some trees in sight, that, from their tops, he might survey the country. He returned and stated that they were on an island. Then he went back to examine for a path or fire: in the afternoon he returned and said he had found a small quantity of fish, which he brought. Behind him came three Indians, and in their rear two hundred bowmen, their ears bored and stuck with joints of cane. The Treasurer and the Inspector went out, and called to them, when they came; and they gave them some articles of traffic. Each warrior presented an arrow in token of friendship, and said, by signs, that the next day at sunrise they would bring food.

XII. They did so, returning in the morning with fish, and those roots they eat. They came in the same manner the next day. The Spaniards, provided with water, set about to continue their voyage. They undressed to throw their boat out into the water, and, thus at work, a sea struck her at the bows and wet those on one side engaged in rowing, causing them with that and the cold to let go their oars, so that the boat being on her beam ends another wave capsized her. The Inspector and two others remaining on their seats, she took them under, and they were drowned. The others came to shore naked without saving anything. They remained there on the coast, suffering severe cold until the evening, then the Indians coming to look after them, beheld them in that plight. They wept with the Christians,

as in grief for their troubles ; and the Treasurer besought them to take the people to their houses. They did so, XIII. and in the morning said that other men like the Christians were near there. The Governor sent two men to find out who they were ; and discovered them to be Alonso del Castillo, Andres Dorantes, and the others belonging to their boat, which had been capsized on the same island ; the fifth day of November, the other having come to land on the subsequent day. The food and clothing they had, which were very little, they divided with Cabeça de Vaga and his companions.

CHAPTER III.

After the people of the two boats had counselled together, they concluded to refit the boat of the Treasurer. This they accomplished the best they knew how ; and threw her out into the water. Finding that they could not keep her afloat because of worms and other difficulties, which must necessarily lead to shipwreck, they agreed to winter there, as indeed nothing further could be done. Believing Panuco to be near, they sent a hidalgo, named Figuerva, three XIV. men and an Indian thither, that they might give information of the state of the survivors and the place at which they were.

Five or six days from that time the people began to die, and the hunger became so excessive that of five who were together, some were eaten. The natives also were stricken with pain in the bowels, of which the half died ; and the Indians thought to destroy the few remaining Spaniards, declaring that they had brought that malign pest to the country ; but God choose that one of the chief men should say that they ought not to do so, nor believe that the Christians brought the sickness, seeing how they likewise suffered, very few of them surviving ; that if they had brought it they too would not die. In consequence of what the Chief said, the Christians were allowed to live. They were then two or three days without taking a morsel. More merciful would it have been under the circumstances had the Spaniards been killed, than left through this generosity to support pain, hunger and suspense.

The Christians, sick and feeling themselves dying like the natives, resolved to go over to the mainland, into some marshes and creeks, after oysters the natives eat for three or four months in the year, without other thing, at a time they experience hunger, and make exertion continually, day and night, to protect themselves from mosquitoes, which are in such numbers as to render the endurance of them scarcely supportable. Brackish water only is to be got, and no wood. In other four months of the year, they eat black-

berries and the green things growing wild ; for two other months, they suck certain roots, and eat lizards, snakes, rats, and great spiders ; and for the other two months, they live on fish. They go after another root, like the ground truffle, got in water. At times there are deer, which they kill from canoes. The people are very comely, and the women endure excessive hard labor.

The Indians took Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes to the main, to eat oysters, where they staid till the end of March, in the year 1529, when they returned to the Island. The Christians there brought together numbered barely fourteen ; the Treasurer was in an opposite part of the country, very unwell and with no hope of recovery. Two, for being very thin and without strength, were left ; and the rest crossing the bay, traveled along the shore.

Cabeça de Vaga continued living there five years and a half, digging roots in the earth beneath the water from morning to night with a hoe or stick such as the Indians use, bringing one or two loads daily on the bare back with no other covering on than that of the savages. In this employment he served them ; as well as in others they set him upon, such as bringing home game and carrying about their huts ; since it is the practice while seeking roots to remove every three or four days, the great destitution over all that country permitting of no continued place of abode.

Nothing whatsoever is planted, nor can maize be got. The country is healthy, and is temperate, save in winter while the north wind blows, when the fishes freeze even out in the sea. Andres Dorantes says he knew snow and hail to fall on one occasion ; that greater hunger is there sustained than can be credited, although farther on they found more severe ; and that the people feared death more than any he has ever known, and weep for their deceased with feelings of tenderness and intense grief.

Cabeça de Vaga, finding the work not only hard but extreme, began trafficking among the Indians, and to bring things from other parts for them which they needed and could not get. In this occupation he went occasionally into the interior and by the coast forty leagues ahead. Three times on his outward travel he crossed the bay he supposed from appearances to be the one called *Espiritu Sancto*. Twice he went back that distance to bring a Christian, the survivor of two whom Castillo and Dorantes had left very emaciated on the island ; the last time he was got off, across that bay, and taken ten leagues from it on the way to certain Indians at war with those of the other side. These gave them the names of some Christians, of whom they had killed three or four, stating that many others had died near there of starvation, and that the survivors were in a wasted condition. They gave much other

bad news, and drew arrows at the hearts of the Spaniards, menacing to kill them. Unable to keep him, the man Cabega de Vaga had rescued went back ; and after two or three days the Treasurer secretly departed. Coming upon two Indians they conducted him to Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes ; the latter was waiting there the arrival of a slave he owned.

Asturiano, the clergyman, with a negro, had been living the *first winter* on an island back of the one where the vessels, were lost to which they had gone for subsistence. The Indians brought them back again across the bay in a canoe to the island, where was Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, Diego Dorantes and Pedro Valdivieso, with six others who had survived the cold and hunger ; and together, on the first day of April, they took their departure. Two were left for want of strength to march, as also Cabega de Vaga and another, who were inland and could not be got at to bring away. In return for some things, the Indians passed them over another bay.

The Christians traveled thence two leagues to a large river that was beginning to swell from freshet and rain, where they made rafts on which they crossed with much labor, they having few swimmers. Having gone three leagues more, they came to another river, running powerfully from the same cause, with such fury, that the fresh water extended a good way into the sea. They made rafts as before. The first being assisted went over in safety ; the other was driven to sea more than a league ; for the men being emaciated and worn out by the hardships of winter and the journey, had no strength. On the way they had eaten only of the abundant rock-weed, of which glass in Spain is made, and certain crabs hatched in crevices along shore and are little else than shell. Two men were drowned, two escaped from the raft by swimming, and one who remained sitting, finding himself beyond the current got on to the top, where the wind acting on him as a sail, took him thence again and cast him on the shore in safety.

The ten were now joined by another Christian. After going four leagues they came to a river and found a boat they recognized as that of the Comptroller, Alonso Enriquez, and the Commissary, but could find nothing of the people. Having gone five or six leagues, they arrived at a large river, where were two ranchos, from which the tenants fled. Other Indians, from the opposite side, who knew what they were, having before seen those of that boat and others belonging to the one of the Governor, having assured themselves took them over in a canoe to their houses. Nothing was found there to eat ; but the Christians received a little fish which sufficed to sustain them through the night.

The Spaniards left the next day, and on the fourth day arrived at a bay, having lost two of their number by hunger and fatigue, nine now remaining. The bay was broad, nearly a league across ; the point on the side towards Panuco, running out nearly a quarter of a league to sea, has on it some large white sand stacks which it is reasonable to suppose can be seen from the ocean, and consequently were thought to mark the river Espiritu Sancto. Finding no way of passing they were greatly harrassed. At last they discovered a broken canoe, which setting to rights in the best manner possible, they crossed in the two days they were there. Going on much depressed by hunger, the greater number swollen by the sea-weed they had eaten, with much exertion they came, at the end of twelve leagues, to a small bay, not over the breadth of a river. They tarried the day of their arrival. The next day, seeing an Indian on the opposite shore, they called to him, but he gave them no attention, and went off. In the afternoon, he returned, bringing with him one of the four that had been sent forward the previous winter to reach the land of Christians. Presently they came over ; and he, Figuerva, there recounted to the nine the fate of his three companions, two having died of hunger, and the third being killed by Indians. He stated that he had come upon a Christian named Esquivel, the sole survivor in the boats of the Governor and Alonso Enriquez, from subsisting on the flesh of those that died, the rest perishing of hunger, some feeding upon others ; that the boat of the Comptroller was wrecked where they saw her, and the Governor following along by the coast came upon those men, as he still kept the sea in his boat ; that on discovering them he concluded to lighten the vessel, by setting his people on shore, that they might travel together along the coast, being weary of the voyage and without food, and that keeping in sight of them on coming to any river or bay he would pass them over to the other shore. In this manner they arrived at the river supposed to be Esperitu Sancto, where the Governor crossed them to the other shore, remaining in the boat unwilling to land, there being with him only a pilot, Anton Perez, and his page Camps. As the night set in, a strong wind came on to blow from the north ; and from that time nothing was ever heard of them. Narvaez at the time was covered with spots ; and as those with him were not robust, it may be considered that they were taken by the ocean. The people going by certain pools and overflowed grounds, went inland, where, without resource, they all perished during the past winter.

Thus ended the account of Figuerva, without his being able to add more than that Esquivel was about there in the possession of some natives, and they might see him in a little while ; but, in

about a month from that time, it was known that he no longer lived; having gone from the Indians, they had followed after and put him to death.

The Christian tarried a few moments, long enough to relate the sad news. As the Indian who brought him would not permit him to remain, he was constrained to go back. Asturiano, the clergyman, and a young man being the only ones who knew how to swim, accompanied them to the intent of returning with fish which they were promised, and that they should be brought back over the bay; but when the Indians found them at their houses, they would neither bring nor let them return; on the contrary they put their houses into canoes and took the two Christians with them, saying that they should soon come back, and they went to gather a certain leaf they use for a beverage that is drank as hot as can be borne. One of the men, who came next morning and brought a small quantity of fish given him, related the circumstances. The eight companions remained there that day to appease their hunger, and the next morning they saw two Indians of a rancho coming over the water to place their dwelling on the hither side. The object was to live on the blackberries that grow in some places along the coast, which they seek during a season they know very well, and, when they can be had, are a food that will support them. They called to the Indians, who came as to persons they thought lightly of, taking some part of what they possessed almost by force. The Christians besought the natives to set them over, which they did in a canoe, taking them to their houses near by, and at dark gave them a little fish. The next day they went out for more, and returned at night, giving them a part of what they had caught. The day following they moved off with them; and never after were the two Christians seen the other Indians took away.

Immense God! How excessive these labors for a life so short as that of man! What unheard of torments for the human frame! What intolerable hunger for the body so weak! What adversities so extreme for flesh so sensitive! What deaths so desperate for the understanding so unreasonable! With what did the captains and ministers of these journeyings, who were so deceived and mocked, repay the unhappy beings they led to die such deaths? It may be said that they who gave credit to these pilots received the reward of their cupidity.

We know that Pamphilo de Narvaez was never in that land, where he proposed to take this people, believing himself to be Lord and Governor, when it appears to me he knew not how to govern even himself. Can there be greater folly than to follow after such leaders? And behold how dexterous were his pilots, who, passing over

to that country, knew not whither they were going nor where they were. Thus closed the lives of those both of the sea and land in evil deaths, neither knowing what they were about.

* * * * *

Tell me now, ye who have read, if you ever heard or knew of a people so unfortunate as these, so worked and so evil counselled. Look at that pergrination of Ulysses, that navigation of Jason, the labors of Hercules, that are all fictions and metaphors which, understood as they should be, nothing could you find in them to marvel at; they are not to be compared in equality with the labors of these sinners who made so sad a journey and end.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—AN EARLY NEW YORK PUBLICATION.

COMMUNICATED BY HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, PRESIDENT OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"THE ARTICLES OF FAITH OF The Holy Evangelical Church, According to *The Word of God*, AND THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION. Set forth in FORTY SERMONS.—By Magist. Petrus Sacharie Nakskow, Præpositus, and Minister of the Gospel in *Jutland*, in *Denmark*.—Translated from the Original into English, By Jochum Melchior Magens.—NEW YORK: Printed and Sold, by J. PARKER and W. WEYMAN, at the New Printing-Office in *Beaver-street*; Also to be Sold by GODFRIED MULLER, Reader in the Lutheran Church, in *New-York*, and Mr. SCHLEYDORN in *Philadelphia*, MDCCLIV."

Pp. ii, ii, (2), 314; but page-numbers 111-210 are repeated, and the last page should be 414. Sm. 4to.

Bound with these sermons, and evidently designed to make part of the same volume, (though separately paged), is—

"THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF THE XXVIII. ARTICLES OF THE Evangelical unvaried CONFESSIO, Presented at AUSBURGH," etc.: translated, as appears by an address to the Reader, (dated, "New-York, the 11th, Nov. 1755,") by the Rev. "John Albert Weygand, Minister of the Gospel in the old Lutheran Church in New-York, and Hackensack:" and printed by J. Parker and W. Weyman, 1755. Pp. 30, (2).

A quarto of four hundred and fifty pages from a New York press, in 1754, deserves more notice than it appears to have received from local historians or bibliographers. It may not be unknown to New York collectors; but I have not found its title in any American Catalogue; and the copy now before me is the only one I have ever met with.

Magister Magens, the translator, had lived

several years at Flushing, and was chosen an Elder of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in New York. The Dedication of his book may be worth reprinting in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for the personal and local history it contains.

"To the Honourable VESTRY of the EVANGELICAL CHURCH in The City of NEW-YORK.

"*Reverend Fathers, and Brothers in Christ :*

"It is now going on five years since I arriv'd here from the *West Indies*, in order, if I should like the Place, to settle here, or else remove to *Copenhagen*, where I have had my Education in the Royal University; though born in the Island of *St. Thomas*, under subjection of his most Sovereign Majesty the King of *Denmark*: But I cannot express how I was griev'd in my Mind, when, upon Inquiry after the State of our Holy *Evangelical Church* and Brethren, I mostly met with a general Contempt and Discommendation, partly occasion'd by the bad and immoral Lives of so well Preachers as some of their Hearers; partly by the great Prejudice that prevail'd among the other Congregations, concerning our Holy Doctrine: And, therefore I resolv'd to translate the *Forty Sermons*, of the Worthy Magister *Petrus Zachariæ Nakskow*, upon the Articles of our Faith, in order to have them printed; *First*, For the better Conviction of all who are unacquainted with the Purity of our Holy Doctrine; and, *Secondly*, For the Edification of them that are desirous to be instructed in the true Way of Salvation. And since the Honourable *Vestry* have chosen me to be an Elder of our Church, in the City of *New-York*, I thought it proper to dedicate this, my well-meaning Labour, to them.

"I shall always endeavour to help the promoting of this our sound Doctrine, and remain with due Regard,

"Reverend Fathers and Brethren,

"Your most Obedient,

"J. M. MAGENS.

"FLUSHING, Jan.

"31, 1754."

IV.—NOTES ON THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONGRESS AT PARIS.

FROM LETTERS BY PROFESSOR CARL VOGT TO "THE COLOGNE GAZETTE." TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR RAU FOR THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.

The Congress was opened on the seventeenth day of August, 1867, in the Ecole de Medicine; and its labors lasted two weeks. The various

countries were thus represented: France, by Longperrier and Quatrefages; Scandinavia, by Nilson; England, by Franks; America, by Squier; Denmark, by Worsaae, and Germany and Switzerland, by Vogt, who delivered the opening address. Mr. Lartet being President.

The collection of antiquities from the drift-period, the caves, the Lacustrian villages and the kitchen-middens, &c., were exhibited in the large halls where the Congress met, and are described as really magnificent, affording the investigator of the primitive condition of man unusual facilities for research and comparison. The most interesting relics in the French department were, according to Professor Vogt, those of the rein-deer period, from the caverns of Dordogne, consisting of representations engraved on horn, bone, ivory, and stone, and of carved articles. "There is the mammoth," says Vogt, "the elephant of the diluvial period, with his long mane, engraved on ivory, or carved to serve as a handle; there are the rein-deer, the cave-tiger, and the cave-bear; the stag, the aurochs, the horse, and the wild goat; there are birds, fishes, groups of frogs, and even representations of plants, only recently found, among which is a tulip-like flower with twisted stem. And the very same savage men, who displayed so much artistic taste, were not yet far enough advanced to know how to grind stone, but merely *chipped* the edges of their weapons of flint."

It will be of interest to the Society to learn that our associate, Mr. E. G. Squier, made remarks relating to his discoveries in Peru, exhibiting at the same time the large plans and diagrams, which have become familiar to us. Mr. Squier used the English language; but his friend, Alfred Maury, translated for him into French.

Bertrand exhibited a map showing the distribution of cromlechs on the Eastern Hemisphere. They are chiefly found along the coasts and in the large river-valleys, occurring most frequently and of the largest size in Bretagne, North Germany, and Denmark. The question whether they belong to one or more periods, or were constructed by one or by various nations, remained unsolved, because the facts thus far collected are not yet sufficiently numerous to justify a final conclusion. Their number, however, is astonishing. Mr. Cartailhac exhibited an album containing about a hundred representations of cromlechs occurring in one Department. Longuemar spoke of seventy-six cromlechs and nineteen barrows in the Department of the Vienne. Worsaae mentioned that hundreds of them had been examined by him in Denmark, and by Lisch, in Mecklenburg.

Very important discoveries relating to the antiquity of man were communicated during the session of the Congress. Two gentlemen of the Catholic clery, exhibited bones of the *Halitherium*,

an animal of the whale kind, from the *fabuns*, or shell-marls of Touraine, which are coeval, geologically speaking, with the tertiary limestones of the basin of Mayence, or the sandstones of the molasse in Switzerland. These bones, which constitute a whole skeleton, bear on their surface cuts and marks evidently produced by flint implements, and it would seem, therefore, that man is even older than the diluvium, for the *fabuns* of Touraine belong to the *tertiary* period, and the bones discovered in them claim a much higher antiquity than the remains of mammoths and hippopotami of the diluvium. At a period, when Mount Rigi did not yet exist, and sharks and rays swam about between the Jura and the Alps, hunting tribes already roamed through France and feasted upon a whale which the sea had floated ashore. The Abbe Bourgeois, one of the reverend gentlemen, admitted the high antiquity of man in a paper which he read before the Congress. An Italian investigator, Issel from Genoa, exhibited human bones found in the blue clay of the sub-Appennine formation which belongs also to the tertiary. These bones were exhumed near Colle del Vento. There can be but little doubt that man existed already in the tertiary epoch, long before the ice-period.

The indications that the primitive inhabitants of Europe were cannibals are rapidly accumulating. Hamy, one of the Secretaries, reported several facts, which have already been brought before the Anthropological Society of Paris. Vogt gave a minute account of the finding at Chauvaux, near Liege, where Spring discovered bones of young human individuals, which were treated exactly like the bones of animals that had served for meals. He also spoke of the human bones found at Uelze, in Westphalia, of which Professor Schaaffhausen of Bonn has given a similar account. Broca made interesting remarks relating to cannibalism. He stated he had doubted for a long time that man-eating had existed in Europe in pre-historic times, but a human bone, extracted by Dr. Clement from the pile-work of Concise, on the lake of Neuchatel, had convinced him. On this bone, he said, the cuts of flint hatchets and the marks of gnawing teeth could plainly be seen; and the marrow has evidently been scraped out from the cavity of the bone. Other testimonials were brought forth. Roujou found, near Villeneuve St. Georges, thigh bones and jaws opened and partly roasted. Julien found in a cavern near Buis, the bones of three individuals treated in the same manner. Worsaae discovered in a tumulus of the North, in one corner, the bones of animals which had served for the funeral meal; in the other corner, he found a heap of human bones, indicating by their appearance that they were likewise the remains of a meal; and Spring, who was just at that time in

Copenhagen, identified the latter instantly with those found by him at Chauvaux. All those, who had devoted their attention to this subject, agreed with Vogt, that the finds indicating cannibalism in Europe, were to be referred to the end of the stone age, or, perhaps, to the beginning of the bronze period. "Our ancestors," says Vogt, "were evidently savages in every respect; why then, should they not have done like other savages, 'who kill and eat their prisoners?'"

The museum of St. Germain contains many beautiful models of cromlechs and dolmens, constructed in a manner that they can be taken asunder, and that their proportions and inner structure are perfectly laid open to view. The stone weapons, earthen vessels, and bones, found in the cromlechs, and casts of the large stone slabs, which constitute the latter, are likewise exhibited in the museum. The casts of the stone plates of the dolmen of Garr'inness, in Bretagne, are the most interesting, being covered all over with intricate spiral lines. On one stone, a compact grey granite, are to be seen rude representations of stone axes and chisels, the outlines of which are regularly and deeply cut in the hard stone. How was that possible without metal, without steel or hardened bronze? These sculptures certainly must have been executed with metal. Such, at least, is the opinion prevailing among the antiquarians who are present. But Mr. Bertrand thinks differently, and proceeds to make a trial. A fine piece of the same granite is worked with stone chisels and axes; and the experiment proves to be a perfect success. After a day's labor, a circle and a few lines are engraved. A chisel of polished flint used during the whole time was hardly injured; one of nephrite had become somewhat blunted, and a similar implement of green-stone still more. But the edge of a bronze axe used in the operation was instantly bent, and it became evident that those sculptures had not been executed with bronze, but with stone. The labor of years, however, was probably required, before the builders of that cromlech succeeded in tracing all their figures on the surface of the stones.

The museum of St. Germain contains also, among other valuable relics, many antiquities of the Gallo-Roman period, put up there to facilitate the imperial studies of Julius Cæsar and his times.

On a certain day, a number of the delegates made an excursion to Amiens, the capital of Picardy, for the purpose of inspecting the classic grounds, where Boucher de Perthes discovered those remarkable flint implements associated with the bones of extinct animals of the diluvial period. Between the city and an institution founded by the Jesuits and called St. Acheul, there extends a sterile, almost horizontal plateau, consisting of layers of sand and pebbles, the whole

thickness amounting to thirty feet and more. This formation rests on the white chalk, which encloses many nodules of flint. The flint axes and bones are found in the layer just above the chalk. These rude flint implements, fashioned by the wild men who hunted the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the gigantic elk, are now somewhat rare, and as there is considerable demand for them, the working men of the neighborhood supply the want by fabricating them; and the excursionists were much amused by the discovery of several modern working places. While they were on the spot, an individual made his appearance, who professed to have a great fancy for flint implements. Taking up a piece of flint, he begins to operate on it with another piece in lieu of a hammer. The flakes which he splits off, have exactly the shape of knives and scrapers; and in a few minutes he has made a flint axe, that perfectly resembles a genuine one. The fracture, of course, is fresh; but our artist informs the savants how this defect can be easily remedied. The specimens, he says, are boiled in lime-water, and, by that process, covered with a white crust; they are then greased and burned in smoke, and the sharp edges are smoothed with sandstone. After these manipulations, the most practiced eye can hardly distinguish these imitations from the originals. The excursionists bought a great many of these modern flint articles for the purpose of comparing them with the genuine ones.

The Congress will meet next year in London; and Sir Roderick Murchinson is designated as President.

V.—PARALLEL AND COMBINED EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE CHEROKEE INDIANS IN SOUTH AND IN NORTH CAROLINA, IN 1776.

BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

[In the Summer of 1776, the Cherokee Indians in the Western part of North Carolina, as we learn from Martin's History of that State, page 398, "commenced their invasions "on the unprotected and unsuspecting back settlers.

"Early in the month of July, Griffith Rutherford, Brigadier-general of the militia of the District of Salisbury," [the Court-House of Rowan County, and at that time including Iredell] "passed the mountains at the head of nineteen hundred men, while Colonel Williamson led a party of the militia of South Carolina against the Cherokees. As General Rutherford crossed the wilderness, parties of Indians, lying in ambush, harassed him by a galling fire. He however, after a short time, succeeded in silencing them, ranged the settlement of the enemy undisturbed, laid waste the plantations, and destroyed their provisions. This timely chastisement produced the most fortunate effect; most of the Indians surrendered themselves, and sued for peace."

* The best, and probably the only full account of Rutherford's expedition against the Cherokees in 1776, is found in the *University Magazine*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina) for May, 1852, (i. 132-136) which we shall reproduce in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for November.

From Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, 383-384, we learn more particulars of this expedition. "In 1776," he says, "he [Rutherford] commanded an army of two thousand and four hundred men to subdue the Overhill Cherokee Indians. He marched to the territory, destroyed thirty-six towns, cut up their standing corn, and drove off their cattle. * * * Rutherford crossed the Blue Ridge at the Swannanoa Gap, and passed down the French Broad, and crossed the river at the ford, which passes to this day by the name of the War Ford; then up the Valley of Hominy Creek; then crossing Pigeon (River) to the Tuckasege (River). From thence they crossed the Cowee Mountain to the Tennessee River. In the Valley of the Tennessee River [in Macon County, North Carolina] they burned the towns of Watanga, Estectoos, and Ellajay. Here, on the fourteenth of September, they met General Williamson, with troops from South Carolina, who had crossed the Blue Ridge at the sources of the Tennessee River. In his march for the valley towns, General Williamson was attacked in a narrow pass near the present town of Franklin [Macon County], by a body of Indians in ambush. He lost thirteen men killed and thirty wounded. The Indians were routed with great slaughter."

Rutherford, in a skirmish at Valley Town, Ellajay, and near Franklin, lost three men; but he completely subdued the Indians, and turning his large stock of cattle, which he had for subsistence, along with the army, on their growing crops, destroyed their means, and with his troops burned their towns. He returned in October, and at Salisbury disbanded his troops. The Rev. James Hall, of Iredell, accompanied this expedition as Chaplain."

From Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, 326, we learn that "When it was necessary for the American forces to march into the Cherokee country in Georgia [adjacent to the country inhabited by the same tribe in North Carolina, and the same expedition spoken of above] "to quell the Indians, a company was raised in Iredell" [then part of Rowan] "for that expedition, and Mr. Hall" [Rev. James Hall, D.D.], "went with his friends as Chaplain to the army. During the expedition, which lasted about two months, the Chaplain offered public prayers, very regularly, every morning and evening; but had but one opportunity of preaching. On that occasion he took his stand under a large shady tree; the army, consisting of about four thousand men, was drawn up around him; the soldiers brought from the neighboring woods each a young sapling, or long branch of a tree, with all the foliage, and as they were drawn up in close ranks, seating themselves on the ground, and resting their shady branches upon the earth, they formed a dense shade, and under this novel shelter from the sun, listened to the sermon."

These extracts will enable the reader to understand the following. Sixteen or more years ago, the writer found in Iredell County, a portion of an old pamphlet, without title-page or conclusion. It was traditionally called the "Ross PAMPHLET," probably the Journal of a Captain Ross, in the Expedition of General Williamson, above mentioned, through the Northwestern part of South Carolina, into the Cherokee country of North Carolina, where, as it will appear from the Journal, just where it breaks off, they fell in with the North Army (i. e. Rutherford's), and that "evening they had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian minister, being in the North Army." At that time we advertised in several newspapers for a complete copy, and published the fragment which we had, but have never heard of any more than what appears in the following pages of the Journal.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

E. F. R.

JOURNAL.

July the eighth day, being Monday, we assembled at Captain Peter Clinton's, in the province of South Carolina, and on or by the waters of Ellison's creek, to engage the Indians, on account of the insurrections they made on the white inhabitants, killing and plundering all they came to. This express occasioned us to rise to stop them in their present undertaking. Being commanded by Colonel Neel, and under Captain Clinton, we started, and marched to William

Hall's, and encamped after a day's march of about fourteen miles.

Tuesday, the ninth day of July, 1776, we marched over Broad River, about two miles, and meeting a party of our men, it gave us fresh fortitude in the pursuing of our heathen enemies. We encamped here after a day's march of about eighteen miles.

Wednesday, the tenth, we started, and marched twenty-five miles to one Moor's. We continued our march next day, fifteen miles, to one Mr. Walford's fort, on Lawson's fork, hearing that the Indians had persisted as far as Prince's fort, on Tiga, and killing and plundering all before them, hurried us on in our march to the aforesaid fort, where we arrived Friday, the twelfth instant. We found no enemy there. We stayed there two days: then hearing our enemies were harbored and encouraged at the house of one Perris', we started and marched within two miles, being joined with, or assisted by, Colonel Thomas's regiment, in all about three hundred men. We encamped on a hill all night, in order to attack the house and inhabitants there in the morning. When daylight came, we surrounded the house, but, contrary to our expectations, we found no Indians there, for they had left that place, and had embodied themselves together and marched to another fort called Lindly's fort, being assisted by or with a number of white men, in order to destroy the same; but by the conduct and valor of the inhabitants of the fort, the designs of the heathen enemy were frustrated, being forced to retreat after a smart firing from both sides. After a retreat of these heathens, the battle ended with little or no slaughter on either side, save some few wounded. We will next return to Perris's, and let you know that we took his wife and daughters, and, in short, all his family, as likewise some tories that harbored there; so taking all prisoners, and committing his houses to the flames, we took his effects, as free plunder, driving cows, steers and horses, and brought all to our camp at Prince's fort, distant twenty-five miles. When we arrived, we saw a man that had gone that night to a mill, about six miles off, with a wagon for provisions, who intended to return that night; so as he was returning, within two miles of the fort, and riding a horse across the creek, not thinking of danger, on a sudden there was an Indian within two roods of him, and to his surprise fired at him, and shot him through the thick of the thigh, and the horse scaring, threw him down. The Indian immediately made to him, but to save himself he jumped into the creek; then rushed forth another Indian with his gun ready to fire, which made the poor water-prisoner expect nothing but death. But to be short, he fired at him, and the bullet took him below the shoulder and out by the left breast.

By this last shot the poor helpless white man fell back into the water. The Indian seeing this, drew his tomahawk and made to him, thinking to have sunk it into his brains; but, contrary to his expectations, the wounded man snatched it out of his hand, and made to the Indian, who retreated with the halloo of "hoboy, hoboy." When the white man saw this, he made his best way back to the mill, knowing that the Indians were between him and the fort, and got some men at the mill to conduct him back to the fort. This was a remarkable deliverance that one man could escape from four Indians, well armed, as says the beholder.—This aforesaid man is of the name of Reed, a man of superior dignity, courage and flexibility, which appears by his valor during his escape from the Indians. I am next to inform you, that we began to vendue the aforesaid plunder on the sixteenth, and continued till the eighteenth instant, and, by a vulgar guess, amounted to seven thousand, seven hundred and thirty-three pounds, South currency.

Friday, the twenty-first day of July, 1776, our next orders was to make to our enemies. So we started with a silent and secure march, being determined to rout and scatter them if possible. We continued our course to one Hight's, and seeing there what slaughter was made by our heathen enemies, by killing and scalping all they met with; this sight seemed terrifying, to see our fellow creatures lying dead and massacred in such a manner, as hindered us almost from interring or burying them, their effects being destroyed, their houses lying in ashes; this, with all other of their actions, occasioned us to vow revenge or die in the attempt.—So we continued in the pursuit of revenge, and marched on to Perris's place; beholding with satisfaction the ruins of the same, we lay here encamped till Thursday, the third day of August.—Then, Friday, the fourth, we marched about fourteen miles, and encamped on a round hill.—Saturday, the fifth, our orders were to form ourselves in a hollow square, with the wagons around us. Then there was a party appointed to stay with the wagons and baggage, as guards, while the rest of us marched to our enemy's towns. We continued our course to Streke, an Indian town, called Estatoe. When within about two miles of the same, we parted in divisions as follows: Colonel Thomas ordered his men to the right flank to surround our enemy's towns, and the light horse of both regiments to the left, and us, to Colonel Neel's regiment, in the front or center. We marched very carefully till coming within sight of the town, then rushed in with all speed possible, but, contrary to our expectation or desire, we got no Indians there, save one that escaped with being shot in his thigh. After this we set the houses on fire, and marched as quick as possible to another town,

called Qualhatchee ; and our enemies having left that also, we committed it to the flames, and started with rather running than marching to another town called Taxaway. And the inhabitants thereof being deserted, we stayed there but a short time, and left it on fire to warm themselves by at their return. We well remember this also, that while we marched to the aforesaid town, a few of our men detained in this Qualhatchee town, gathering peaches, and roasting ears, being tired with traveling, they laid themselves down to rest, and the enemy, who always watches such opportunities, coming close to two of our aforesaid men, fired at them, and shot one of them through the thigh. This shot coming so unexpectedly, set the men in great surprise ; for no assistance being nigh, they expected nothing but death. But making the best speed they could up a neighboring mountain, being tired with running, and the wounded man almost ready to faint, they halted to rest themselves ; and casting their eyes towards the ground that they left, they espied about sixteen Indians there, looking as earnestly for blood as a hunter after his game. After this discovery, they started to our baggage guard, and got safe there. By this time we came up, wishing for such game, but finding none we made to our wagons, and arrived about sunset, being distant about nine miles.

Sunday, the sixth of August, we started, wagons and all, and marched to our aforesaid towns again, to help them off with some of their crops and vegetables, of which they were very well stored, far beyond our conception. But to be short, we persisted in that undertaking as far as the furthestmost of the aforesaid towns. After these performances, we were yet ordered to continue, and marched down Savannah river to Sugar-town, in order to meet General Williamson there, according to his own appointment. When we arrived, we found the town destroyed, and them gone. We set out after them, down the aforesaid water, to another town called Keewee, where we met with a party of the aforesaid General's regiment, whilst the other party was a hunting for towns, camps, or any other place of harboring for or of our enemies.

Thursday, the eighth, we started in our turn, scouting the Cane Brakes that was confined by the aforesaid Savannah river, and continued to Taxaway, where we routed a camp of Indians in the said town. In discovering us they all fled, save one sturdy fellow, who allowing himself to fight some, but being prevented of his design, was forced to surrender up his camp, and worse for him, his life also, with doing no other execution than wounding one of our men through the side of his belly. Then we had to leave two companies of our men with the wounded man, and the rest of us continued hunting for more of such

game, and came along the said Savannah river to a town called Chittitogo, where we started some more of our foresters, and killed one squaw, and captivated a squaw and two negroes, and got information from the captives of an Indian camp up in the mountain, where was confined old Mrs. Hite and her two daughters, whom they took prisoners, when they killed the remainder of the family. They likewise informed us, that there were three hundred warriors started to Keewee, and were determined to take that town and wagons ; and likewise that there was a body of them yet guarding the camps.—This information put us to a stand, whether it would be expedient to return, or advance to relieve the poor prisoners ; after a long consultation, it was concluded by our good Colonel Neel to pursue our enemies, which we willingly complied to, and started with a small body of men ; for Colonel Thomas's was ordered by him to go back to camp. But to proceed, we marched over mountains very difficult to climb, but allowing not to be conquered, we crossed them with some difficulty, and persisted as far as a mountain within three miles of the camp. Being to our view unclimbable we ascended partly to the top of the same, and making our best speed up were halted by a shot of a gun, which came from our enemies, who were screened by blinds made with broken limbs of trees ; and no sooner we stopped, but they fired about fourteen guns, killed one horse and wounded another. We received no more damage, but spread round the mountain to surround them ; but they cleared themselves, night coming on. We had to encamp here all night upon this mountain. So on Friday, the ninth, we started about daylight, and marched down to their camp. But they were all fled, and had carried Mrs. Hight about one hundred yards from their camp, and had killed her there, leaving her on her face, naked. After burying her, we ransacked the camps, getting some plunder, they not having time to carry all off.—So started back to Keewee to our camps, and lay there till an express arrived from General Williamson's scouting party, which gave the following intelligence, to wit : That on the twelfth instant, General Williamson came to Towmossy, where he saw signs of Indians very fresh —Detached Captain Perkins and Captain Anderson with sixty men to reconnoiter or track the enemy ; likewise Major Downs went out with twenty men, Captain Anderson with twenty-five men, parted from Captain Perkins, and crossed a creek. Soon after Captain Perkins and his thirty-five men saw two Indians, and fired at them. The Indians instantly set up the war whoop and ran. The party followed, and was quickly met by a party of the enemy, supposed to be between two and three hundred, who engaged them very furiously, when Major Downs fortunately came

up in the rear, and Anderson falling on the back of the enemy. To the right the firing was heard at the town, when Williamson turned out with one hundred and fifty men, who coming close on the back of the enemy, made them quickly give way. The furthestmost of their party being almost surrounded, and were entirely cut off, sixteen were found dead in the valley where the battle ended. These our men scalped, but did not look any further : it being now near sunset, they were called off by beat of a drum. We had two killed and sixteen wounded : three of the latter died next day, of whom was Captain Neel and Captain Lacy, a couple of brave officers and good men. So close was the engagement, that a stout Indian engaged a sturdy young white man, who was a good bruiser, and expert at gouging. After breaking their guns on each other, they laid hold of other, when the cracker had his thumbs instantly in the fellow's eyes, who roared and cried "Canaly," "Enough" in English; "Damn you," says the white man, "you can never have enough while you are alive." He then threw him down, set his foot upon his head, and scalped him alive ; then took up one of the broken guns and knocked out his brains. It would have been fun if he had let the latter action alone, and sent him home without his nightcap, to tell his countrymen how he had been treated. I am next to inform you that our provision being out, we concluded to return for a fresh supply of the same, and steered homewards with but one day's allowance.—Marched, eastward, crossed Six Mile Creek—next to Twelve Mile Creek ; from thence to Eighteen Mile Creek ; from thence to Reedy River ; then next waters were Lawson's Fork ; so continued to Pacolet ; next to Tige River ; next marched to Broad River ; so continued our course home ; and the number of miles that we marched from Keewee was one hundred and seventy-three miles, traveling the chief of the same on the one day's allowance ; yet for all that slavery and hardship it did not deter nor daunt us from trying it again, for as soon as we got a supply of provisions, we all assembled at our noble Captain's again, the day appointed, voluntarily, to go and destroy all opposing enemies, and to pursue the Indians as far as mountains and roads admitted of.—So,

Friday, the twenty-third day of August, 1776, we started from Captain Peter Clinton's, on Ellison's Creek, and continued our march to John Smith's, meeting nothing material, being a day's march of about ten miles.

Saturday, the twenty-fourth, we started from camp, and marched to Mr. Smith's, at Broad River, distant about nineteen miles. This night we received an account that Major Robinson had made his escape, being some time ago confined on account of his misbehavior ; after this account, Colonel Neel ordered off Captain Andrew Neel

to the aforesaid Robinson's habitation, where they found none but his wife, whom they mistook not, but committed his effects to the flames. After this they returned to our camps.

Sunday, the twenty-fifth, we started, to march by order, to Sinacha Fort, where we were to meet General Williamson, our head commander, which orders we obeyed, and marched to Mr. Goudilock's meeting, nothing material happening, distant twenty miles. So we continued from thence to Waford's fort, on Lawson's fork, finding nothing worthy our relating, distant twenty-one miles. From thence we steered our course to Tige River, and made the best of our way to Prince's fort, on the aforesaid waters. From thence to one Vernar's, a day's march of about twenty-three miles. So,

Wednesday, the twenty-eighth instant, we next steered our course to Hight's old place, next to Perris's place, on Reedy River, a day's march of thirty-three miles. We steered from camp at Perris's and marched across Soludy River, about six miles, and continued along the road about six miles more ; then took to the woods for a night cut to our desired Fort. In this manner we marched about five miles, crossed two small branches of Twelve mile creek, our day's march about seventeen miles, and encamped by a small branch.

Friday, the thirtieth, in the morning, a little after the wagons started to hunt their horses, our camps were surprised by a negro of Captain Ross's, who had lately arrived from hunting, who gave us the following relation, viz. : That after hunting for his horses some time, he finding them by a thicket, distant from camp about one mile, and when mounting on one of them, there was a shot fired from the thickets, and he casting his eyes about, perceived a sturdy Indian rushing out therefrom and making to him, who, when he perceived, trusting to his horse for safety, set off with all speed possible, and kept his distance pretty well for about one hundred yards ; but, on a sudden, the horse fell dead, occasioned by the aforesaid shot ; which, when the Indian perceived, increased his pace, thinking to have had a negro to wait on him. But contrary to his expectation, the boy being supple and unwilling to have an Indian for his master, he cleared himself, and came to the camps. After this account, we instantly started in the pursuit of them, though all in vain, for we could not find them. So they cleared themselves, and took with them nine horses, and shot at another horse hunter, but he happily escaped, with having his horse shot in the rump. So close was the Indian to him, that the smoke and powder lashed against him, but he fortunately escaped. After these surprises, we started and marched across the Ninety-sixth road, so on that course about two miles, encamped, after a day's march of about sixteen miles.

This night there came a man to our camp, who gave the following account of his adventures, to wit : That he was at Senica Fort, with General Williamson, and being so necessitated that he had to go home, and missing his road, happened on an Indian town called Soquani, and alighted off his horse to gather peaches or such like ; and being some distance off his horse, casting his eyes round towards him, espied Indians coming to him, when he made the best of his way to our camps. This information being delivered, our Colonel ordered forty-two light horsemen to go to the aforesaid Soquani town, it being all we could raise ; so they steered to the town, and coming into the same, they found the aforesaid man's horse tied where he left him ; and searching further, they found four Indian's horses—a small restitution for upwards of nine they took from us before. After this, we started, and marched down to Senica Fort, where we met or found General Williamson and regiment, and encamped.

Sunday, the first day of September, there was a company of light horse scouts raised, and taking the Cotappo Indians with them, they being entire foes to the Cherokees, they marched along through Sugartown, likewise through Taxaway, and coming upon some fresh signs of their enemies, one of the Cotappo's being detached to track the enemy, and made out the sign as far as their camps, confined in a hollow. After this reconnoiter of the Indian, he returned to the white men, and informed them as follows : That there was a great many of them, too numerous for our white men that were there. This information occasioned them to send down an express to Sinache, our camps, for a reinforcement of men and some more provision. This being delivered, we started as quick as possible to their assistance very securely ; but they not having patience to wait for our arrival, and doubting that the enemy would not stay long there, they attacked the camps ; but being deceived by the situation of the same, they attacked the wrong end, and gave them a clear passage to run—as they did the first shot. The Cotappos being in the front, espied a Cheerokee coming out of one of their houses, and being so confounded by the surprise, ran the wrong road for him, for instead of clearing himself, as the rest of his countrymen did, he made right in the face of our Indians, who, willing to see such a chance, embraced the opportunity, and committed him to the terrors of death. After the departure of those cowards, the Cotappos searched next for plunder, and got a great parcel of beads, wampum, garters, and deerskins, and likewise some horses ; and in getting this booty were vastly encouraged ; but as they were returning with their prize, and ascending up a hill, some small distance from their camps, the Cheerokees waylaid

the Cotappos, and being unperceived by being behind trees, fired at them, and killed one of the head warriors among them, he who first discovered their camps. Our men instantly rushed up ; but, as soon as our enemies fired, they ran so that they cleared themselves. After this they started down to Taxaway, where we met them with the reinforcement ; and having nothing more to do there, we all marched back to Senica Fort, and arrived Thursday the third, and lay there waiting for Colonel Sumpter and regiment, before we could start to the Middle Settlements, being too scarce for ammunition ; so lay encamped till Thursday, the twelfth instant, when arrived two hundred and seventy men of Colonel Sumpter's, who encamped.

Friday, the thirteenth day of September, 1776, we started by beat of drum to march ; our intent was for the Middle Settlements, a habitation for Indians. We, or our lines of battle, were ordered as follows : We were drawn up in three lines or wings, Colonel Sumpter commander of the right wing, Colonel Hammon commander of the left wing, and Colonel Neel commander of the front or center. In this manner we marched to the waters of Cane Creek, and encamped after a day's march of about eight miles.

Saturday, the fourteenth, we started from camp, and marched untill we came to the mountains of Ocone, and crossed them with some difficulty, and at length came to a small branch, and encamped there after a day's march of fifteen miles. Next day we marched about twelve miles, and encamped at a river called Tugla, at the mouth of Warewoman's Creek. From there we marched next day, and crossed Warewoman's Creek, it being so crooked that we crossed it above sixteen miles in the distance of eight. Then coming into a mountainous country, our marching becoming the more difficulter, we scarcely exceeded twelve miles per day ; but allowing that this distance itself would some time or other bring us to our enemy's towns, it fared us as follows : We next came to the waters of Little Tugla, and encamped by the foot of two mountains—this day's march about twelve miles.

Tuesday, the seventeenth of September, we started as formerly, and marched to the waters of Tinnessy River ; from thence to the Gassy Plains, and on to the Narrows made by the mountains on one side, and Tinnessy River on the other, where we expected to have an engagement with our enemies, being so advantageous for them, being the spot where they repulsed General Grant the last war, with killing upwards of fifty men, a great many horses, and lost a vast deal of provision ; so much that a great many suffered before they returned. But to be short : we came through these narrows with great courage, and continued our march to the first town in the Mid-

dle Settlements, called Thisintheagh, and finding the Indians all had fled, we encamped in this town, it being convenient on account of house-room. Here we stopped till further orders, which soon came; for on Wednesday, the eighteenth instant, we marched along Tinnessy River to Coweachee Town, and finding the north army had been there, commanded by Brigadier General Rutherford, we started in pursuit of them as far as a town called Cannutee, where we found a party of the aforesaid army; that is to say, a baggage guard, whilst the rest marched to the vallies. We started at the north fork of Tinnessy, and marched this day to the south fork of said waters, being about twelve miles. This evening we were informed that the north army had started to the vallies was bewildered on account of being destitute of a pilot. This account occasioned us to send two pilots to them, allowing them to attack the lower end of the vallies, whilst we were to attack the uppermost town. Here we were encamped by the aforesaid Tinnissy River.

Thursday, the nineteenth day of September, 1776, we started to the vallies, and a most difficult road it was, marching along Tinnessy River or branch, called Cowechee; the path or road we marched led us into a long valley, or rather a hollow, surrounded by mountains on all sides, only the entrance. This place goes by the name of Black Hole, and well it deserves that title. But to proceed: on our entering, our front guard, commanded by Captain Ross, was about half through these narrows, and seeing some very fresh signs of Indians, had a mind to halt, until the two wings, that is, Colonel Sumpter and Colonel Hammon's would come up even with him; but they being tedious, the passage being narrow and difficult, and he being hurried by one John Sentspeers, who was hurrying fast to his end, as appears by his conduct. But to be as short as possible: as I informed you, the aforesaid Captain, being about half through these narrows, the enemy was all ambuscaded around us, and not being discovered until Captain Hampton, who was Captain of the main guard, and marched on the front of the right wing, had ascended up the mountain, when he espied Indians behind a tree. After this discovery he instantly fired at them. This alarm opened or rather emptied our enemy's guns. To our surprise they poured down their bullets upon us beyond the standing of any common soldiers; but we being resolute, were determined not to be conquered, which plainly appears by our valor and magnanimity, our noble Colonel Neel being partly in the front, fought most admirably, considering his age and frailty; but casting these infirmities away, and putting on the coat of invincibleness, and rushing through his enemies like a Hercules or one fearless of danger, with his men at his back, determined to fight

while there was one of them; and by our obedience to his orders we, through mercy, defeated our enemies, with the loss of thirteen gallant men. A merciful escape, considering the wonderful form those heathens were placed in; likewise the impossibility of our getting an equal chance with them. The greatest and indeed almost all the killed and wounded were in Colonel Neel's regiment, on account of our being in front of the battle. This engagement may be spoken of as a miracle, considering the multitudes of enemies, and an admirable place they had to fire on us, that we were not almost all killed; for nature never formed such an advantageous place for our enemies, which was allowed of by all spectators. This mountain is of a hemispherical form, and had to march over the center of the same, where our enemies had us partly under their fire before they were discovered. This battle continued the space of two hours very warm. But according to our orders, which was as follows: the first fire, our line (that is Colonel Neel's regiment) was ordered to the right, to assist the guard who was first attacked; and leaving our line, according to order, and none to fill up our place, the poor front guard was left amongst their heathen enemies, with none to assist them, so that them that could not get retreating died by the hand of the enemy; for Colonel Sumpter was ordered with his regiment to a mountain to the right, distant almost a mile; the chief design of that, I suppose, was to hinder our enemies from coming round on our baggage and provisions, which orders they executed very manfully; but as for Colonel Hammon's regiment, I cannot give any account of their orders, as I had not an opportunity of seeing them; the line however that they ought to have cleared of our enemies was the left, which kept up a constant and hot fire against us; but by risking and running upon them, cleared them off their mountain, which seemed an impossibility to do, considering the advantage they had of us, on account of the situation of the mountain they were on, and likewise the grass being so admirably long, that they always had the first shot; and also the mountain being so steep, that they could handily clear themselves, so that we had, to appearance, but little chance with them. One thing, we pretty soon cleared them off their mountain; for there was no other way to conquer them than the method we took, which was to run right upon them as hard as we could run; for it would have been next to vanity to stand and fight them. But to be short, we cleared them off their mountain, without giving them so much time as to take off all their luggage; for they left baggage of about two hundred of them, that is to say, blankets, moccasins, boots, some guns, matchcoats, deer-skins, &c., &c.

I must here give a sketch of the conduct of some of Colonel Neel's men who were wounded and escaped, first of Captain Ross, who was in the front, was slightly wounded; the Indian that fired at him thought to have his scalp, and making to him, his head being down and bleeding, struck with the gun in his hand until the force of the stroke broke the butt thereof; but the Captain recovering, and acting like a gentleman becoming his station, with all the intrepidity that nature ever endowed a hero with of this age, soon overcame him and got his scalp. This aforesaid Captain ought to be extolled to the utmost for his wonderful conduct and patriotism, who is always acting for the good and advantage of his country; and none who is not bigoted up in enthusiasm, that is to say, heat of imagination. If we were here to applaud him according to his deserts, we should neither have room nor expression to accomplish the same. But to proceed: we will next take notice of a lieutenant that was that day in the front with him, named William Patrick, a man of distinction as well as property: he was in the midst of his enemies during the whole engagement, and shewed all the valor and dexterity imaginable. Next our noble Captain Clinton, who ought to be in the front of our journal on account of his valor and elegance, being a gentleman of superior dignity and flexibility, his courage is unbounded, and his conduct inexpressible, as plainly appeared by the sudden retreat of these foresters, occasioned by the undaunted courage of such superior officers, and the assistance of their good soldiers; but more particularly by the hand of Providence that interposed in our behalf, we conquered our heathen enemies.—The number of Indians that fought us that day, by information, was six hundred; the number of them that was killed is not exactly known, but we found but four dead on the ground. We had to encamp here all night, on account of burying our dead and attending the sick and wounded: a most dreadful sight to behold our fellow creatures lying massacred in such a manner by the heathens; for there was three or four scalped and one sadly speared and tomahawked. His name was John Sentspeers, who, when the battle began, ran violently up among the thick of them; so that they had time and liberty to do with whatsoever they listed. There was also killed Samuel Thompson, a young man of great courage and valor, likewise a man of conduct, and gained the good will and esteem of all that ever was acquainted with him; in short, he was of that evenness of temper, that all his acquaintance desired his company. If I had time and room to display his merits, or was really able to do so, it would make the most obdurate heart lament the loss of such a hero, to think that power or authority over such a good man. But why should I say so; who by ap-

pearance was in that assembly fitter to go and attend the call he was commissioned or summoned unto? It was allowed he was deceived, by thinking it was one of our own Indians, until the Cheerokee shot him with two bullets in the body. There was likewise killed John Guyton, rWilliam Moore, James Caldwell, John Branne, James Lusk, and one the name of Linch, the remainder I cannot recollect; but there was killed on the ground thirteen, and eighteen wounded; in all, killed and wounded, the number of thirty-one gallant and brave soldiers.

Friday, the twentieth, we gathered our sick and wounded, and sent them back to the North army, and sent with them a guard of one hundred men, and the remainder of us continued our march to the vallies; so started and came into the greatest of the narrows, where were great numbers of our enemy's camps, confined by the sides of admirable laurel thickets. Our road seemed to go up such a large mountain, or rather between two mountains, which seemed the wildest like part of the world we were ever in—the precipice of which seemed unclimbable; but not fearing these seeming difficulties whilst our good preceptor Colonel Neel was able and willing to lead us through all danger. In this manner we marched, expecting we should see our enemies every mile, whom we were always ready to engage, being prepared for them. At length we came to the top of the mountain with some difficulty, and finding it so high and open, we encamped thereon, after a day's march of about five miles.

Saturday, the twenty-first instant, we continued our march as formerly, and as I have mentioned of the day's march before, of the difficulties contained therein, I think this day will afford us little restitution therefor, only this, it seems something descending, we marched through laurel swamps and thickets, a place where we had not the happiness of the sun to shine on us; neither the privilege of marching without great difficulty, occasioned by the narrowness of the path, being closed in by mountains on both sides; and also the thickets of laurel so closed over our heads, that it hindered us, I might say, from the light of the firmament. It also hindered our flankers to march, and confined us almost to one path. In this manner we marched about five miles, and on a sudden the frontespied an Indian squaw; at her they fired two guns, which put us all in an alarm, allowing it an attack, but soon found to the contrary. Seeing no more Indians there, we sent up one Bremen, a half Indian, that was in company, to ask her some questions; for although she was wounded in the shoulder and leg, yet she could speak, and told the interpreter as follows, viz.: That all the Over-Hill Indians, and the chief of the Indians of the towns we had gone through, were at that battle that was fought the day be-

fore ; and further, that they were encamped about four miles ahead, and was preparing to give us battle by the river or waters of Tinnessy. Hearing this account we started, and the informer being unable to travel, some of our men favored her so far that they killed her there, to put her out of pain. But to proceed, we marched as quick as possible to the aforesaid waters, beholding, as we marched, the backs and forms they had to lay their guns on, in case of an engagement, as we conjectured ; and by the appearance of the same, there appeared to be great numbers of them, which gave us fresh assurance of our having another engagement with them, which we much wished, if we could get an equal chance with them in the ground, which is almost an impossibility to do, they having such opportunities of choosing it ; and likewise, they will not stand a battle with any, but when they have such advantages. By this time we came within sight of the aforesaid river, which seemed the most advantageous place for our enemies of any water we had hitherto met with, being closed in by a thicket on one side and by a large mountain on the other ; however, placing our men in order, as follows, we sent the left wing over the river, the right wing up the mountain, and us in the front or centre. These were the orders of our head commander, General Williamson, which we obeyed, and marched through a dreadful valley and wonderful thickets. At length we came to a place more clear, and encamped there, after a day's march of nine miles.

We are to mind, that the number of men that marched from Sinachee Fort, that drew provisions were one thousand eight hundred and sixty, but the aforesaid battle reduced us to the number of one thousand six hundred, exclusive of one hundred and sixty-four who were sent back with the sick and wounded.

Sunday, the twenty-second day of September, 1776, we started, and it seemed as if we were never to get a road again that was travelable, for this day showed us the worst road we hitherto met with ; the reason was, this day Colonel Neel's regiment was appointed for the right wing flank, which occasioned us to take to the tops of the mountains, which seemed a task hard enough for birds ; but it was not a time then to hesitate ; go we must, and go we did all with one consent, knowing that there was no danger or material affair to happen. Colonel Neel's regiment was all they depended upon in the execution of it, and it always happened that we came off fortunately and victorious, being crowned with fortitude capable to bring us through the greatest difficulties. So we marched from one mountain to another, which seemed an impossibility even for fancy to accomplish it, or for the most curious writer to describe. At length we came to a moun-

tain more curious than the rest, because it gave us a more clearer view of the neighboring mountains, and a small valley or grassy plain. This we wished to be our desired port ; the distance we could not give an exact account of. I have taken notice of this extraordinary mountain which was almost impassable, being nearly perpendicular. The next mountain that offered was named by us Slatey Hill, on account of its natural produce, abounding mightily with slates. Over this we came also, and arrived at the path where the army had to march, which was little inferior to ours, only not nigh so high, but abounding with laurel swamps and sideling thickets. After this manner we marched to the waters of Highwassa, and encamped between two mountains, after a day's march of nine miles.

Monday, the twenty-third, we made ready to march. The orders from our General was, that there should be forty men chosen out of each regiment for front guards, or rather spies, to discover the situation of the towns ; so we set off, and always minded to take possession of all the hills and mountains we came to. We crossed a small mountain named Knotty Hill ; from thence we steered to another, where we had a full view of a town called Burning-town, distant from us about one mile. So took to the right to surround it, and continued in that course about half way. By this time we espied the main body of our army marching into it. The front of the town we took, where we got peaceably, without shooting a gun, though a large town, having upwards of ninety houses, and large quantities of corn ; but they had cleared themselves, and took with them the chief of all their effects, save some of their horses. A party of Colonel Thomas's regiment being on the hunt of plunder, or some such thing, found an Indiansquaw and took her prisoner, she being lame, was unable to go with her friends ; she was so sullen, that she would, as an old saying is, neither lead nor drive, and, by their account, she died in their hands ; but I suppose they helped her to her end. Here we encamped among the corn, where we had a great plenty of corn, peas, beans, potatoes and hogs. This day's march about three miles.

Tuesday, the twenty-fourth instant, we were ordered to assemble in companies to spread through the town to destroy, cut down and burn all the vegetables belonging to our heathen enemies, which was no small undertaking, they being so plentifully supplied. So after accomplishing this we were ordered to march. By this time there was an express arrived from the North army that gave us the following intelligence, viz. : That the first town they came to they surrounded it, and killed and took the number of sixteen Indian fellows and squaws, without the loss of one man, the enemy not being apprized of their com-

ing. After this agreeable account we started, and came along a small mount, called by them Bloody Hill; and so on to another town, called Timossy, distance two miles, and encamped.

Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, we engaged our former labor, that is, cutting and destoying all things that might be of advantage to our enemies. Finding here curious buildings, great apple trees, and, whiteman-like, improvements, these we destroyed, and marched down said vallies to another town named Now-youwee; this we destroyed, and all things thereunto belonging, distant two miles. From hence we started to another town called Tilicho, a brave plentiful town, abounding with the aforesaid rarities; I may call them rarities; why so? because they are hemmed in on both sides by or with such large mountains, and likewise the settlements of the soil, yielding such abundance of increase, that we could not help conjecturing there was great multitudes of them; the smallest of these valley towns by our computation, exceeded two hundred acres of corn, besides crops of potatoes, peas and beans. These creatures are most curious in their way of building, according to their opportunity of instruction; they raise in each of their towns a large house, which they call a town, or in other terms, a Fowwoing-house; they raise it partly round, first by four large forks stuck in the ground upright, then from each of these forks there goes a beam to the other, which forms a frame, and by laths and other small pieces of timber, forms it a hollow square, and brings it to a top much resembling our home-made barrack-sheds, covered with bark or grassy sods; the door or entrance is extremely narrow or straight, and when in, it is as dark as a dungeon, having no chimneys, windows, or any other hole wherein light might shine. We allowed that in these houses they hold their idolatrous worship, it being all so tramped around, where they have had a fire. Their dwelling houses is made some one way, and some another; some is made with sapplings stuck in the ground upright, then laths tide on these, with splits of cane or such like; so with daubing outside and in with mud nicely, they finish a close warm building. They have few or no chimnies, and their fires in the middle of their houses. I am next to inform you that we marched to another town called Cannasation, and encamped; this day's march six miles.

Thursday, the twenty-sixth, we started, and marched about two miles to another town called Canucy; here we stopped to destroy their handy work. From thence to another town named Eco-chee; here we stopped, and served it as the last mentioned. From hence we steered to another, called Highwassah, where we met the North army, and encamped. This evening, we had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian minister,

being in the North army, where Brigadier General Rutherford brought us sixteen prisoners, that is to say, Nathan Hicks, Walter Scot, Matthew McMahan, Richard Rattleiff, William Thomas, Godfrey Isacks, and Alexander Vernon, Hick's old squaw, named Peg, Scot's squaw and two children, one Indian fellow, named the Barking Dog, Charles Hicks, and one old squaw; these prisoners were committed to our care to secure or commit them for punishment according to their deserts, being confederates or assistants to the Indians.

VI.—CAMBRIDGE, IN 1775.

COMMUNICATED BY J. RUSSELL, ESQ., OF WASHINGTON CITY.

[The following letter, from the late Judge Winthrop, who was appointed Provincial Postmaster at Cambridge, Mass., at the beginning of the American Revolution, exhibits a great contrast between that day of small things and the present time. The present salary of the Postmaster there is \$2000 per annum, with a corresponding increase of business.—J. R.]

CAMBRIDGE, July 5 1775

SIR

When the Congress did me the honor to appoint me postmaster for this town, I was in hopes it would have enabled me to tarry here. But as the office will not furnish the single article of victuals, as the establishment is at present, I shall be constrained to quit the *place of business*, & seek for a subsistence somewhere else. All the money I have received since the oath was administered on the 25th of May, amounts only to £7.07.10^d—15 per cent of it is my pay for six weeks, that is at the rate of 6 1-4^d a day nearly. Judge then, Sir, whether this be sufficient to furnish one, who has no other support, with a Subsistence—or indeed, whether the office is worth keeping up on this plan; for it is in vain that we expect it to grow better during times of confusion, & a suspension of trade. But I will not take up your attention any longer than to observe that it is with reluctance I think of leaving Cambridge, & that I shall be glad of any opportunity to promote the common cause, as far as shall come within my small sphere of action. Unless the Congress think fit to alter the establishment, I must beg the favor of them to consider this letter as a resignation, & grant an order for paying the money which I have received to the Treasurer, after a deduction of my 15 per cent, that the Bond may be forthwith delivered up. The letters which remain I shall be ready to deliver to any new Postmaster whom the Congress shall appoint & remain with great respect Sir

Your most obedient servant

JAMES WINTHROP

To the Honorable JAMES WARREN, Esq
President of the Massachusetts Congress
WATERTOWN

[ACTION OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS ON THE
ABOVE LETTER.]

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS

WATERTOWN July 7 1775

The Committee appointed to take into consideration the Letter from Mr James Winthrop Postmaster in Cambridge have attended to that service, and beg leave to report

That from the representation made by Mr Winthrop in said Letter it is evident that the profits arising from said Office upon the present plan are not sufficient for his support, and considering he has no other business in the town, it is reasonable he should be dismissed according to his request and it is recommended that he be directed to pay the money already taken to the Receiver General (his fees being deducted) & that the letters now in his hands be committed to the care of the Committee of Safety, and they be desired to recommend some person to the aforementioned office

A true copy from the Minutes

Attest

SAMUEL FREEMAN

Sec'y

VII MAJOR-GENERAL GORDON'S REPORT
OF THE BATTLE OF MONOCACY.

HEAD QUARTERS GORDON'S DIVISION, }
July 22, 1864.

MAJOR :—In accordance with orders from Corps Head-quarters, I have the honor to submit the following report.

About half-past two P. M., on the ninth day of July, I was ordered by Major-general Breckinridge, commanding Corps, to move my Division to the right, and cross the Monocacy about one mile below the bridge and ford (on the Georgetown pike), which were then held by the enemy. On reaching the river, I directed my Brigade commanders to cross as rapidly as possible, and then to file to the left in the direction of the enemy's line, and I rode to the front in order to reconnoitre the enemy's position. I found that Brigadier-general McCausland's cavalry Brigade (dismounted) had been driven back by superior numbers, and that the enemy was posted along the line of a fence, on the crest of the ridge running obliquely to the left from the river. In his front lay an open field, which was commanded by his artillery and small arms to the extent of their range, while in his rear, ran a valley nearly parallel with the general direction of his line of battle. In this valley, I discovered from a wooded eminence in front of his left, another line of battle in support of the first. Both these lines were in advance of the Georgetown road. The

enemy's line of skirmishers covered the front of his first line, and stretched far beyond it to the left. Having been ordered to attack this force, I had the Division skirmishers, under Captain Keller, of Evans's Brigade, deployed, and directed one Brigade (Evans's) under the protection of a dense woodland, about seven hundred yards in front of the enemy's left, to move by the right flank and form so as to over-lap the enemy's left. The two Brigades (Hays's and Stafford's) united under the command of Brigadier-general York, were ordered to form on the left of Brigadier-general Evans,—and Terry's Brigade to move in support of the left of my line. These dispositions having been made, I ordered the command to advance *en echelon* by Brigades from the right. The troops emerged from the woods seven hundred yards in front of the enemy's left, under heavy fire from infantry and artillery, and had advanced but a short distance when, on account of the wounding of one Brigade commander, (Evans) to whom explicit instructions had been given as to the movement of his—the leading Brigade—and the killing of several regimental commanders, and the difficulty of advancing in line through a field covered with wheat-shocks and intersected by fences, the perfect alignment of this Brigade was, necessarily, to some extent, broken. However, this temporary confusion did not retard its advance, which as I had anticipated, forced the enemy to change his front under fire. At this point, the Louisiana Brigades, under the command of Brigadier-general York, became engaged, and the two Brigades (Evans's and York's) moved forward with much spirit, driving back the enemy's first line in confusion upon his second. After a brief halt at the fence, from which this first line had been driven, I ordered a charge on the second line, which was equally successful. At this point, I discovered a third line, which over-lapped both my flanks, and which was posted still more strongly in the deep cuts along the Georgetown road, and behind the crest of the hill near the Monocacy bridge—and at once ordered Brigadier-general Terry, who as yet had not been engaged, to attack vigorously that portion of the enemy's line nearest the river, and from which my troops were receiving a severe flank fire. This Brigade advanced with great spirit and in excellent order, driving the enemy from his position on a portion of the line. He still held most stubbornly his strong position, in front of the other two Brigades and upon my right. He also advanced at the same time, two fresh lines of troops, to retake the position from which he had been driven by Terry's Brigade. These were repulsed with heavy loss and in great confusion. Having suffered severe loss in driving back two lines, either of which I believed equal in length to my command, and having discovered the third line longer than either of the others, and protected by the cuts in the road,

and in order to avoid the great loss it would require to drive the enemy from his position by a direct front attack, I despatched two staff officers in succession to ask for a brigade to use upon the enemy's flank. Ascertaining, however, that a considerable length of time must elapse before these could reach me, I at once ordered Brigadier-general Terry to change front with his brigade to the right, and attack the enemy's right. This movement, promptly executed, with a simultaneous attack from the front, resulted in the dislodging of this line and the complete rout of the enemy's forces.

This battle, though short, was severe. I desire, in this connection, to state a fact of which I was an eye-witness, and which, for its rare occurrence, and the evidence it affords of the sanguinary character of this struggle, I consider worthy of official mention. One portion of the enemy's second line extended along a branch, from which he was driven, leaving many dead and wounded in the water and upon its banks. This position was in turn occupied by a portion of Evans's brigade, in the attack on the enemy's third line. So profuse was the flow of blood from the killed and wounded, of both these forces, that it reddened the stream for more than a hundred yards below.

It has not been my fortune to witness, on any battle-field, a more commendable spirit and courage, than was exhibited on this, by both officers and men. To my brigade commanders, for their good example and prompt execution of orders, I am especially indebted. They rode in the midst of their troops, under the severest fire, and exhibited that cool courage so essential in an officer on the field. There are many other officers, of lower grade, who well deserve particular mention,—among them, I desire to call attention to the admirable conduct of Colonel Peck, Ninth Louisiana, commanding Hays's brigade; Colonel Atkinson, commanding Evans's brigade; Colonels Funk and Dungan, commanding the remnants of the "Stone-wall" and Jones's brigades, of Terry's command.

I regret to state that my loss was heavy in both officers and men, amounting in the aggregate, as shown by tabular report, of brigade commanders, to six hundred and ninety-eight. Among the killed, are Colonel J. H. Lamar and Lieutenant-colonel Van Valkenburgh, both of the Sixty-first Georgia regiment, of Evans's brigade, and both meritorious officers. Colonel Lamar, a most promising young officer, was shot from his horse at the head of his regiment. Several other regimental commanders of this brigade, were wounded; some, it is feared, mortally. Lieutenant-colonel Hodges, Ninth Louisiana regiment, Hays's brigade, an officer of rare merit, was severely wounded and left at hospital in Frederick City.

I cannot too highly commend the conduct, on the field, of the members of my staff, Major R. W.

Hunter, and Captains V. Dabney and L. Powell. The prompt, fearless, and intelligent manner with which they bore my orders to every portion of the field, met my hearty approbation. Lieutenant S. Wilmer, my signal officer, had been previously wounded, during the skirmishing in front of Maryland Heights, bearing, under severe fire, an order from me. Major Moore, my Inspector, rendered efficient service in his Department. My senior Surgeon, Dr. J. H. Stevens, labored assiduously during the afternoon and night, in caring for the many wounded.

I am, Major,

Very respectfully,

Your ob't serv't,

J. B. GORDON,

Major-general.

Major J. STODDARD JOHNSTON,
A. A. G., Breckinridge's Corps.

VIII. — PIONEER GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES—EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS IN THE "LOUISIANA PURCHASE."

By HENRY O'RIELLY, Esq.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The recent lecture before the New York Historical Society concerning the exploration of the regions tributary to the Red River of the North, reminds me of the propriety of showing some facts respecting the geographical researches of our old friend, William Darby, in another section of the Continent.

Though the value of his Geographical and Statistical labors is measurably appreciated by people familiar with events in the first half of this century, Mr. Darby's merits are comparatively unknown to the generality of readers at the present time. His unassuming disposition caused him, during life, to show far less than he was; and now that he is no more among us, it is the duty of his surviving friends to present such facts as may aid in placing him in proper position among the Pioneers of Progress, whose memories should be gratefully remembered in connexion with our national advancement.

While occupying an humble position as a Clerk in the Treasury Department at Washington, in 1847-8, (seven years before his death,) the necessities of age and the scantiness of salary impelled him to seek some acknowledgment from the Government for services early rendered in exploring and surveying a large section of the "Louisiana Territory," soon after its annexation by purchase from the first Napoleon.

With this purpose, he gave me some privately-printed statements, along with oral information, concerning the service on which this claim, or rather appeal, was founded—that I might inform

such friends as could be induced to aid in promoting the object.

It was not merely of unrequited labor that the worthy veteran complained. He spoke with greater sensibility of the fact that the *credit* to which he was justly entitled had been bestowed, along with the resulting profits, on another person—that person being merely the compiler of the Map for which Mr. Darby had furnished the essential surveys referred to by the National Government—those surveys being the result of his own personal toil and expense.

The recognition of "Melish's Map" as an authority by our National Government, in diplomatic intercourse and treaty stipulations, (indicated, for instance, by the treaty of 1819 between the United States and His Catholic Majesty,) gave prestige and profit to the compiler—leaving the explorer and author, who acquired the information by actual field labor, in surveying at his own expense, to mourn for non-required toil and mis-directed credit.

The simple statement of these transactions, by Mr. Darby himself, is an interesting contribution to the history of the "Louisiana Purchase"—while it furnishes another evidence of the facility with which persons who dearly earn recompense and distinction are injured by the misdirection of credit as well as compensation to other parties. I give the statement as it was given to me by the author—but it is proper to add that the title given by him is entirely too modest—as his explorations and surveys covered a much broader field than the valley of the Sabine River.

The States of Louisiana and Texas, of which he explored and surveyed essential parts, and in which he could not find sufficient encouragement to publish his maps, (consequent on which want of patronage, was his falling under the compiler above-mentioned,) may yet honor themselves by at least recognizing the early and unrequited services of WILLIAM DARBY, in naming some of the new counties or cities that will be established within the boundaries he first surveyed.

HENRY O'REILLY.

NEW YORK, 24 Pine-st., Oct., 1867.

[STATEMENT OF MR. DARBY, REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING LETTER OF MR. O'REILLY.]

NOTES IN REGARD TO MY SURVEY OF THE SABINE RIVER.

It was in the first part of the year 1808 that I first formed the design to make a map of, and write a statistical account of that region of country, including the State of Louisiana and parts adjacent. From the time mentioned to the month of August, 1811, I kept the plan in view, though

only incidentally collecting material; but thenceforward, until late in 1814, my attention was turned and my time devoted almost exclusively to the project.

When seriously engaged I soon found that all the maps and other data descriptive of the region intended to be represented, and which were then published and attainable, even when added to element produced by the public surveys, yielded very insufficient material, particularly as to the outlines; and that to construct a map of the country with any pretence to accuracy or fullness, I had much to procure from my own means.

In the latter part of 1811, I made an extensive tour over the northern part of what is now the State of Louisiana, and became still more convinced of the necessity of an actual survey of the northwestern and western part of the regions intended to be represented and described. In consequence of these convictions, I made, in 1812 and 1813, a regular survey, which was commenced at the flag-staff of Fort Claiborne, at Natchitoches, and extending thence, over the intermediate space, to where north latitude thirty-two degrees crosses the Sabine river; thence down that stream to its discharge into the Gulf of Mexico; thence along the shore of that Gulf to the mouth of the Calcasieu river; and thence up that stream to its upper lake.

The element obtained by this survey, incorporated with all other requisite data, which I had been enabled to obtain, constituted the element for my map and statistical account of Louisiana, and part of the then Mississippi territory.

All these surveys and collections were made at *my own expense*, and for which I have *never received the smallest recompense*; except what may be supposed to have accrued from the sale of the map and book, which, from a cause I shall fully shew, *never returned to me a tithe of their own expense*. Application was made to the Legislature of Louisiana for aid in publication and refused; but, though thus left to my own slender resources, I persevered, and in the month of August, 1814, had made preparation to proceed to New York and Philadelphia, with a view to publication; but when about to set out was arrested by the depressing news that the seat of Government of the United States had been taken and in part destroyed by a British army. The natural effect on the public mind of such an event was, for the time, to render abortive all attempts to carry into execution any such an undertaking as the one on which I was employed. Rapidly following the report of the capture and partial conflagration of Washington, came the rumor of an intended invasion of Louisiana, which was realized in the month of December, of the same year. Of how my time was employed during the invasion to its glorious termination, the subjoined

documents will show. They are copied from the originals now on my table :

"HERMITAGE September 7th, 1827.

"DEAR SIR :

"Your note of the 14th ult. has been received, and as you have requested I send you a testimonial of my approbation of your services as one of my Topographical Staff, in the campaign before New Orleans, in the years 1814-15. You will find it below. I regret that you have lost the one heretofore given you.

"With my best wishes,

"I am, dear sir,

"Yours,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

"Be it remembered, that during the late war, and whilst the enemy were before New Orleans, William Darby acted as one of my Topographical Staff, performed his duty much to the satisfaction of the Commanding General, and at the close of the war I gave him a written testimonial that his services had obtained for him my full approbation.

"Given under my hand, this 7th September, 1827.

"ANDREW JACKSON."

After the British fleet and army had retired from the fields and waters of Louisiana, General Jackson made preparation to give up the command of the Seventh Military District to General Edmund P. Gaines, preparatory to setting out to return to his home in Tennessee. The latter arrived at New Orleans about the same time that the British army retreated, and a few days after, at his request, I accompanied General Gaines on a tour of inspection to Petite Coquille, Bayou Terre Aux Boeufs, and other places.

Before leaving Louisiana, General Jackson inspected the rough copy of my map, and gave the attestation, which I now copy from the original :

"HEAD QUARTERS, NEW ORLEANS, }

"5th April, 1815. }

"I have no doubt whatever that Mr. Darby's map of Louisiana is more correct than any which has been published of that country.

"He has certainly taken extraordinary pains to acquire correct information; and, as far as my opportunities have enabled me to judge, I am induced to think his delineations very correct.

"ANDREW JACKSON,

"Major-general commanding
"7th military district.

"The Honorable Secretary at War."

Louisiana was not a new field to General Gaines; he had resided in it and the neighboring parts many years. I had the honor of his acquaintance, and therefore he had learned from personal

knowledge the pains I had taken to gain correct data for my works, the rough drafts of which I submitted to his inspection, and received from him the following attestation, which I copy from the original in his own hand :

"I have examined Mr. Darby's Map of Louisiana, and am of the opinion that the delineations are faithfully drawn, and that it exhibits much more correct information of the topography of this country than any map heretofore published, and I heartily concur in the opinion expressed by Major O. Winston.

"Given at New Orleans,

"April 2d, 1815.

"EDMUND P. GAINES,

"Major-general by brevet."

The testimony of Major Winston, alluded to by General Gaines, is also now before me, in the original, as follows :

"Mr. William Darby having mentioned to me his intention to publish a general map of the State of Louisiana, I have no doubt, from the industry and capacity of Mr. Darby, his map is correct. It is drawn principally from actual survey and the most minute observations. Mr. Darby having been a surveyor in this country, and very extensively engaged as such, and possessing a genius most peculiarly adapted and directed to geographical studies, I am of opinion his map will be very full and minute. Having some acquaintance with the topography of Louisiana, on examining his map, I find it very accurate, as far as my observation extends.

"No trouble, expense, or labor have been spared by Mr. Darby in compiling his map, and the scale upon which it is proposed to be published will make it the most full, perfect, and complete map of Louisiana which has ever been published.

"The historical notes proposed to be appended by Mr. Darby, from the extent of his information and capacity, I have little doubt will be no small acquisition, as well to the literature as the history of the United States.

"WILLIAM O. WINSTON.

"New Orleans, April 1st, 1815."

For remuneration in this case, strictly speaking, I cannot urge a legal claim; but I confidently think I have a very rightful one in equity.

That I was made the victim of a flagrant wrong is susceptible of full proof. Though certainly, in no wilful manner, a party to that wrong, the Government by its act contributed to its consummation. Adopting, in the most solemn manner, my work, in the name "Melish," gave a character to the map highly favorable to the publisher, but ruinous to the original collector of the material. The case cited was again produced by the Treaty

of Mexico, on the twelfth of January, 1828, Article Third, in which the same terms are used, when describing the same boundary.

Thus, under circumstances I could not control, another person received the immediate profit and, for nearly one third of a century, the credit of my labor. Let a careful and candid comparison be made between my maps of Louisiana and Melish's general map, and, with a knowledge of the fact that mine was published first and that from actual original surveys, and it can need no more to prove, that as far as the Sabine region is particularly concerned, as well as the adjacent country, mine was the original: and I go farther, and assert, that in 1819 there did not exist other material to construct a map of the Sabine river and its valley.

Furnished with these testimonials, and aided by what I could not have advanced without, but which I very generously received, some private assistance, I left Louisiana and arrived in Philadelphia, June, 1815.

When I reach Philadelphia, I found Mr. John Melish in the full possession of the map publishing business, and through him I obtained the publication of my map and statistical volume. But, on what terms? Why, with some other not very moderate terms, to have the privilege of incorporating mine, with other material, on his map of the United States, then in preparation, and soon after published. With these terms I was obliged to comply, and no farther proof need be given to prove that the procedure virtually transferred the real value of my map to Mr. Melish, as his general map contained in a condensed and connected form all my data. But this was not all, nor the worst. Mr. Melish not only secured the profit, but received the credit, and that in a very eminent degree, was the subjoined document will shew.

In the Treaty of Washington, dated the twenty-second of February, 1819, entitled *Treaty of Amity, Settlements and Limits, between the United States of America and His Catholic Majesty*, Article Third, we read:

"The boundary line between the two Governments west of the Mississippi shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea; continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the thirty-second degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; when following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude one hundred west of London and twenty-three from Washington; then crossing the said river, and running thence, by a line due north, to the river Arkansas; thence, following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas to its

"source in latitude forty-two north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea. The whole as being laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, and improved to the first of January, 1818." Vide Elliott's *Diplomatic Code*, i, p. 417.

Nor were my contributions to the map of the United States, bearing the name of John Melish, confined to the comparatively narrow limits of Louisiana and adjacent country. All that part of the map from the Sabine to the Rio Grande, and including the whole basin of the latter, was supplied by myself. On no map then extant and which I could ever hear of, were the bays and rivers of Texas represented in sequence with any approach to accuracy of either name or position.

Any person who may choose to examine the map in question will find, that all beyond north latitude twenty-three degrees, and all its western extent, so as to include the Pacific coast, were added to the original design. These additions were made at my suggestion, and much of the material came from the same source. Mr. Melish was a compiler and no more; and it is a sense of self justice on my part to say that my materials were original, hardly earned, and when incorporated with its other data formed the most important section of the map.

To conclude, my best days were spent in the collection of what my country has long had the use of, and a small recompense—a trifle to that country—will, if granted, contribute to smoothe the downhill of life, and will be gratefully received by

WILLIAM DARBY.

WASHINGTON, 16th December, 1847.

IX.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

69.—THOMAS NELSON, JR. TO COLONEL AVERY.*

WMSBURG Sept 27—1781—

SIR—

Business of the greatest Importance obliging Colonel Blane, Commissary General of Purchases, to visit your shore, you will be pleased to lend him any assistance in Horses &c which he may require—

I am, Sir,
your Obedt Servt
THOS NELSON Jr.

[AT FOOT OF ABOVE AND ON SAME SHEET THE FOLLOWING APPEARS.]

* From the original in the collection of Francis S. Hoffmann Esq., of New York.

The Governor being informed that the Refugees, who accompanied Lord Cornwallis to York, are making their Escape across the Bay, begs that you will Strictly examine all Persons, who cross from the Western to the Eastern Shore, & that you will have such confined as cannot render to you a Satisfactory Acct of themselves—

ROBERT ANDREWS. Secy

COL AVERY
COL CROPPER

[Addressed]

COLONEL AVERY

favor'd by } Northampton County
COL BLAINE } Eastern Shore

70.—DOCTOR SOLOMON DROWNE TO MR. HOWELL.*

PROVIDENCE, R. I. Nov^r 4th 1782.

DEAR SIR:

The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations is still the glorious Seat of undiminished Freedom. On Friday the 1st inst. the important question was put to y^e Assembly: Shall this State agree to vest in Congress the power of levying a Duty of five per cent. on import^d goods, etc. agreeable to their recommendation and request. Resolved unanimously in y^e negative, 53 deputies being present. I am happy, that I can hail you the guardian representative of a free and sovereign community, which having ever experienced the sweets of unmixed liberty, is more cautious not to suffer the least infringement of it.—

I am greatly obliged to you for the pamphlet inclosed in your favour of the 16th ult. but confess I was somewhat disappointed that the extolled sovereign remedy was not disclosed.—

It is with heart-felt pleasure I learn our foreign affairs are *en bon train*. Gustavus then, has learnt to respect the rights of freemen. This is a distant atonement for having invaded the liberties of his own country.

The benefits of American Commerce have been felt even in his borders. Do you really imagine the British will negotiate in earnest y^e ensuing winter? It is true they have long been playing a losing game, and are sinking in the same proportion as this country is rising in the estimation of mankind; but, as you forcibly express it, I believe his Brittanic Majesty most cordially hates us.

If G——l C——l may be compared to a luminary, that luminary has fallen from its orbit. The man whose ostensible principles have for their basis, *Auri sacra fames*, almost deserves 2000 Dollars per annum, as some compensation for y^e opprobrium of honest minds.

I was at your house yesterday; and saw your happy family in perfect health. I shall be very glad to see you next month; in the interim, am, with y^e greatest esteem:

your very obed^t humble Serv^t.

SOLOMON DROWNE.

HON^{BL} DAVID HOWELL.

71.—CADWALLADER COLDEN TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

I believe that you observed that when your Excellency first laid your Commands on me to inform you of the State of the lands & of the Grants of them in this Country that I receiv'd them with pleasure, but that afterwards I was under some uneasiness & diffidence. Much of my time since I had the Office of Survr Gen^l of Lands has been employ'd in acquiring that Knowledge of the State of the Lands which I believ'd would recommend me to the favor of the King's Ministers & I was in hopes that my zeal therein would be an effectual way to secure their Patronage. As it is the thing of the greatest Consequence in which I am capable of distinguishing myself your Excellency's Proposal at first brought into my remembrance the pleasing prospects I had once form'd to myself. But afterwards when I began to reflect on what I had already suffered by looking into Secrets which so nearly Concern the interest of many powerful men & that I will likewise for the future have their utmost resentment to struggle with. That the making discoveries & forming schemes upon them tho they never be put in Execution would have all the ill effects, if not worse than they could have if they were actually put in Execution & took effect. That the Kings Ministers have their whole time employed in such weighty affairs is of immediate consequence, that their attention to such remote affairs cannot be expected unless every thing were prepared for them with the most accurate care & follow'd with a constant application And that a poor Officer at the distance America is unavoidably will be forgot however his services may at any one time be esteemed, but the people here who may imagine that they have received an injury will never forget their resentment. These reflexions may it please your Excellency upon second thoughts staggered my resolution & discomposed me so far that I could not talk to your Excellency with that freedom which my duty requires And when your Excellency considers that I have a numerous family who's well-fair depends upon my conduct you will excuse a little diffidence in an affair which may in its con-

* From the original belonging to Henry T. Drowne, Esq, of New York.

† Probably intended for *imported*. ED. HIST. MAG.

* From the original in the Collection of M. M. Jones, Esq., of Utica, N. Y. It has neither date nor endorsement.

sequences so deeply concern them. But after your Excellency was pleased in the kindest manner to assure me of your Patronage & Encouragement I am resolved to do my duty as far as my Capacity enables me. And I shall do this the more cheerfully because I hope thereby not only to recommend my self to your Excellency's favour but do my Country also a Considerable Service, for I am of opinion that the present State of the lands is of the greatest prejudice to the peopling & improving of this Country and I am persuaded, that this affair will some time or other come under the Consideration of the Legislature here or of the Parliament of Great Britain—

I herewith send your Excellency a Copy of the Papers you desired, by which your Excellency will in some measure see the importance of this affair, tho' they are very far from containing a complete state of the lands. I was not then so well informed of many particulars as I have been since. Indeed I find my papers so bulky & indigested more than I imagined, that I have not had time since I received your Excellency's Commands to read them over. I have been so much discouraged in the prosecution of the Design of them that I had for several years laid aside all thoughts on that subject & the Plan has very much escaped my memory, but I shall do all I can this Winter to satisfy your Excellency after you shall please to let me know of what particulars you desire to be more fully informed. I beg leave of your Excellency to say again that any surmise of an Inquiry into the affairs of Land will be more predjudicial to your Excellency's affairs with the present Assembly men than the actual Execution of well concerted measures can be and any schemes which I have form'd will require very few in this Country to be privy to them till they are ripe for Execution—

The winter set in so unexpectedly & violently while I was in the County of Albany that I was forced to return home before I could inform my self of the mines which I mentioned to your Excellency. One man has assured me that he has already seen a copper mine, that he has taken out some of the Oar with his own hands, that he has melted the Oar & got good cooper from it, but that it is at a great distance from the River & a bad road to it. He adds that there is a large quantity of fine land near it & has promised to come to my house some time this winter to inform me more fully. I have likewise heard of two other mines one copper & the other lead but I do not find that the Indians have as yet discovered them to any Christian & while I was in that part of the Country all the Indians were gon to hunt at above forty miles distance. These two last mines are thought to be not far from the River & in lands that are not granted, but the first mine & the fine land I am affray'd may be within the bounds of that Tract which in my Memorial to

Governor Burnet I suppose to be larger than Yorkshire but the Patentees know nothing either of the land or mine.

While I was in that part of the Country I likewise discovered some considerable parcels of valuable land some of them improved & settled by tenants holding under the Corporation of Kingstone. I am well Satisfied however that they have no right to these lands & if the Bounds between the Counties of Albany & Ulster be fixed by a West line from the Mouth of the Sawyer's Kill as was truly the design of the first Act limiting the Counties & proposed in the Bill which passed the Council but stopped with the Assembly last Sessions the claime of Kingstone will be at an end. I have no hopes that this Assembly will pass that Bill, but the Lawyers are of opinion that your Excellency with the Council can pass an Ordinance for that purpose without the concurrence of the Assembly & that it will be effectual & I make no doubt of the Councils consenting to an Ordinance in the terms of that Bill. Some persons, I expect, will pray your Excellency for such an Ordinance without knowing however any thing of this use to be made of it which I now mention.

I beg to be allowed to join with your Excellency in taking up some of these lands. it will be some reward to me & when my interest is so closely united with your Excellency that it is the same, there can be no doubt but that I will promote it to the Outmost of my power. If your Excellency agree to this please to order a Petition to be giv'n into Council for a Grant of 4000. Acres of land in the County of Albany. I suppose your Excellency will use some persons name for your self, but for me please to Order Andrew Mc Dowal to be inserted. I hope to include some of the Mines in these 4000 acres, but in the Petition for the Grant the words *uncultivated & unimproved* usually put into Petitions of that kind must be left out because I expect to include some improved land in the Grant, but it will be proper to have the Ordinance pass'd before the Petition be put in. It will be Convenient to have both the Ordinance & the Petition passed before Spring because delays may create new difficulties & if this vacant land be discovered so many will put in & expect a share, that a share will be of little value & if the Grant of the land be soon pass'd your Excellency will avoid perhaps giving a refusal to some of your friends & it may not be proper to let it be known that I am concern'd in it, but that you join with some Countryman, otherwise it may raise a jealousy of its being something extraordinary—

I have trespassed already upon your Excellency's Patience, but I must beg your Pardon for it proceeds from my endeavouring to be

Your Excellency's Most Obedient and

Most humble Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

72.—GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN TO GOVERNOR
GEORGE CLINTON.*

ANNAPOLIS Jan'y 15th 1784.

SIR,

As I am informed That, the western Country over which I marched in the year 1779 appertains to New York; and that, the State is about making grants to Officers and Soldiers who served in the Late war: I take the Liberty of mentioning to your Excellency that I shall feel myself under the greatest obligations if your Legislature should think my services and fatigues in that Country worthy of notice.

This Expedition alone was the means of that Loss of health which compelled me to retire from the field; and consequently deprived me of all the Emoluments which as an officer I had a right to expect,

Other officers commanding Expeditions not more dangerous, and much less fatiguing; have had ample experience of the Bounty of States, never more famed for Generosity than the Inhabitants of the State over which you preside.

I have the honor to be with the most lively Sentiments of Esteem & Attachment, Sir,
your Excellencies
most obedient & very humble Servant
J^NO SULLIVAN,

His Excellency
GOVERNOR CLINTON.

73.—HENRY CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.†

PRIVATE

ASHLAND 22 June 1848

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for the friendly feelings and sentiments which you have kindly expressed on the occasion of my failure to obtain the Presidential Nomination at Philadelphia. The event is to be attributed, among other causes, to the conduct of the majorities of the Kentucky delegations in Congress and in the Convention. I yield to it in quiet submission, so far as I am personally concerned.

H. CLAY.

ADAM BEATTY, Esq
Prospect Hill,
near Washington
Ky.

74.—HON. WM. J. DUANE, FORMERLY SECRETARY
OF THE TREASURY, TO JOHN BICKLEY.‡

PHILA Oct. 17, 1833.

DEAR SIR,

I have just now rec'd your letter of the

* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† Copied by C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.

‡ Copied by C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.

10th instant, expressing your approbation of my course as Secretary of the Treasury. I have always been, and am, opposed to the U. States Bank and all such aristocratic monopolies; but I considered the removal of the deposits, unnecessary, unwise, vindictive, arbitrary, and unjust. I believed that the law gave to the Sec'y of the Treasury, and not to the President, discretion on the question; and I would not act to oblige the President or any one else, when I thought it improper to do so: I never asked office—I accepted it reluctantly—and was removed for an honest discharge of my duty. If to keep office at \$6000 a year, I had given up my judgment, I should have brought shame upon the gray hairs of my father, and upon my numerous children; so that I am content to return to humble life with a tranquil mind. If our old worthy friend Neave were alive, he would say, "Well done, William, "I am not disappointed in thee."

With kind wishes, I am

Respectfully Yours

W. J. DUANE.

To Mr. JOHN BICKLEY
Washington,
Kentucky.

75.—COLONEL RICHARD M. JOHNSON TO THE
EDITORS OF THE "DEMOCRATIC REVIEW."*27th Aug^t 1842

GENTLEMEN,

I have rd the within, and owing to pecuniary embarishment I have not been able to pay my Subscription, which I sincerely regret

I have continued a subscriber till I have found a friend to take it & who will pay you the 10\$ upon his arrival at New York for me & please enter S. Hart, Natchez as Subscriber in my Stead—and whenever I am able to be punctual I will again be a Subscriber—your friend & ob. Sert.

RH: M: JOHNSON

Mr Harts Father lives in N. York. Send his democratic review to S. Hart. Eq^r Natchez. Mississippi RMJ

[Addressed]

Free

Editors &c

D. VANDENLIN P. M.

Democratic Review
City New York

76.—JARED SPARKS, LL. D., TO S. B. NOYES.†

CAMBRIDGE, 15 Feb. 1864

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter making inquiry

* From the original in the collections of the Long Island Historical Society.

† From the original in the collections of the Long Island Historical Society.

about the reception of Franklin at the court of France. All the information, which I have on the subject, is derived from "Franklin's Works." I am persuaded that there was no other ceremony than what was usual on receiving a foreign minister or political agent.

Some of the French artists at the time celebrated the occasion by pictures or little groups of porcelain statuary, but the imagination furnished the designs, making Franklin a prominent object; and there seems no reason why the ladies of Brooklyn should not commemorate the event in the similar manner.

Very truly yours,
JARED SPARKS.

S. B. NOYES, Esqr

X.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.—CONTINUED.

3.—JOHN WARD DEAN.*

It would be a curious study to attempt to trace the effects of the labors of men who have been content to lay the foundations and fill in the walls of those intellectual structures which are our pride and delight. Whoever enjoys the perfected monuments which the genius of a Macauley, a Prescott, a Motley, or a Palfrey, has raised to departed generations, must feel a tribute due to those who prepared the material now embodied in such glorious form. In this country, the workers have been numerous and indefatigable; and in our just admiration of the great constructors we must pause to give due credit to their assistants. Foremost among these are men like Prince, Belknap, Farmer and Eliot, who have preserved the facts which were hastening to oblivion. Hutchinson, and even Cotton Mather, must be forever respected as being wise beyond their generations, in rescuing invaluable information for the present age.

Of late years the principle of association has received a proper appreciation; and now, in nearly every State in the Union, bodies of students are joined together to mutually aid in the welcome labor. The volumes of this Magazine testify at once to the wide-spread taste for the study of our own history, and to the valuable results which have sprung from comparison of ideas and exchange of knowledge.

Those who are familiar with the workings of such associations will however confess that in most cases the labor falls upon comparatively

few members, on whom devolves the daily routine. Especially is this the case where the Society attempts a publication upon any special topic; since the utmost that can be expected is a clean balance-sheet, without affording pay to editors or contributors. The editorial duties are generally heavy, since the writers are often unfamiliar with the rules of publication, and too often are in the highest degree crochety and captious. To make and maintain a first-class Magazine under the circumstances, necessitates incessant labor somewhere; and from the nature of things it is labor grudgingly acknowledged and rarely appreciated.

We hold, however, that any one who has for years performed this necessary toil, has earned the thanks of the public; and it is with pleasure that we proceed to cite an example from before our eyes.

JOHN WARD DEAN, the subject of this sketch, was born in Wiscasset, Me., on the thirteenth of March, 1815. His youth was spent in that town and in others in his State; and in Portland he learned the book-binder's trade. This trade he pursued in Boston, New York, Andover, and Providence, finally, in 1843, returning to Boston, where he still continues to do business as a leather-stamper and gilder.

In 1850, Mr. Dean was elected a member of the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society, in which he was to find a wide field of usefulness. The Society was then young; and its objects had hardly received public approval. Instead of the numerous family histories which now crowd our shelves, only about fifty volumes had appeared, scattered throughout the United States.

The Historical and Genealogical Register had been established; but few would have ventured to predict that, in 1867, it would complete its twenty-first volume, and still see before it a prospect of continued usefulness. Mr. Dean's official connection with it began in 1854, when he became one of the Publishing Committee—a position he has ever since held by annual election. During this period, and even before, his labor on it has been unremitting. In connection with William B. Trask and William H. Whitmore, he edited the volumes for 1859 and 1860, and alone, the number for October, 1862, the volume for 1863, and the July and October numbers for 1864.

This, however, is but a portion of the work, for in each year that he has belonged to the Publishing Committee, he has aided the acting Editor, preparing copy, reading proofs, verifying dates and quotations, and adding those little items which add so much to the symmetry of the completed essays. The drudgery of this is immense; and as we have before said, these preparations beforehand are unknown to the reader who reaps the full benefit of the watchfulness and care of his assistant.

* We are indebted to our friend, William H. Whitmore, Esq. of Boston, the accomplished author of *The Handbook of American Genealogy*, for this sketch of one of the founders and the first Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

We are sure our readers will feel gratified with the information which we are permitted to communicate, that Mr. Whitmore's carefully prepared articles will hereafter be found more frequently in our pages than they have been in times past; and none will be more welcome. ED. HIST. MAG.

It is probably owing to this cause that so few of Mr. Dean's contributions have been in a form to receive separate publication. The list is as follows :

1. *The Dean Genealogy*, written in connection with Mr. W. R. Deane, in 1849 ;
2. *Declaration of the Remarkables in the Life of John Dane*, 1854 ;
3. *The Kingsbury Genealogy*, 1859 ;
4. *Memoir of Michael Wigglesworth*, 1863 ;
5. *Brief History of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1866 ;
6. *Memoir of Giles Firmin*, 1866 ;
7. *Embarkation of Cromwell*, 1866.

Mr. Dean's article on Michael Wigglesworth, a most capital Memoir of one of our early divines, has been reprinted in part in the new edition of Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*. (New York, 1867.)

Mr. Dean has also been an active member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, having held the offices of Treasurer, Recording Secretary, and Corresponding Secretary. He was also one of the founders of the Prince Society, one of the earliest of the book-publishing Clubs ; and has been a member of its Council from the beginning. For this Society, he proposed to edit one of Nathaniel Ward's books, and to prepare a sketch of the author's life. His work, however, increased in size as his materials, new and unused, accumulated ; and having at last exceeded the limits of a preface, Mr. Dean has wisely consented to issue it as a distinct volume, of which Mr. Joel Munsell of Albany is to be the publisher. It will without doubt be a most welcome contribution to our literature, since thoroughness and fidelity are the characteristics of Mr. Dean's researches.

In 1858, he was elected a Fellow of the American Statistical Society ; and, since 1860, has been its Recording Secretary. He is also a Corresponding Member of many of our Historical Societies.

As we have said, the published works of our author bear but a small proportion to the untraced labors he has performed, and which in another shape would have brought him deserved credit. That their value has not been overstated, is evident when we compare the position of the Genealogical Society to-day with its rank fifteen years ago. Then, everything was accepted for truth ; the fables of the Three Brothers Emigrants, of the English Estates, of the Noble Descent, passed without contradiction. Town histories were few in numbers and slight in value. To-day, we see scores, even hundreds, of Genealogies in print ; and already the students of Social Science begin to recognize in this agglomeration of facts, the foundation for an investigation into obscure problems of Race, Climatic effects, and habits of Civilization. If man

be his own noblest study, then genealogists are co-workers in a noble cause ; and despite whatever of foolish personal pride may be at times their incentive, the results will be garnered and sifted by others, who will thence extract the precious grains of Truth.

We find on every hand, the growing recognition of the value of our labors : already our English critics speak in terms of admiration of the extent and precision of our larger volumes. There is something peculiarly republican even in the form adopted, by which no one branch of a family is singled out for distinction, but *all* are traced with equal care to a common ancestor. With this appreciation of our work, we are beginning to receive the benefit of co-operation abroad ; and English antiquaries are gradually discovering the extent of their possible audience in America.

In remembering these gains however, let not the claims be forgotten of those who initiated the movement, one of the chief of whom has been described in the preceding pages.

It would be an unpardonable omission not to mention Mr. Dean's connection with the Magazine. In connection with Mr. Charles B. Richardson and William H. Whitmore, he projected and commenced this enterprise, and continued as its Editor until the March number of the second volume, when the publication was transferred to New York. He was a painstaking and industrious Editor ; and the form thus given to the new Magazine has been continued ever since.

Mr. Dean was married to Lydia Emerson, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1853, and has no children. He resides in Medford ; and his place of business is No. 11 Shoe and Leather Street, Boston.

W. H. W.

XI. THE FERRY BETWEEN NORWALK, CONN. AND LONG ISLAND.

PETITION OF THE TRUSTEES OF HUNTINGTON, L. I., TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NEW YORK.*

To

WILLIAM NICOLL and NATHANIEL WOODHULL, Esquires, Members in the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, for the County of Suffolk

GENTLEMEN

As the Trustees of the Town of Huntington in Suffolk County have for a number of years past hired out the Ferry from Huntington Harbour to Norwalk to some particular persons for the Publick good of the inhabitation of the said Town with-

* Communicated for publication in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by Edward Holland Nicoll, Esquire, of New York City

out much trouble or interruption untill of late some other persons for mercenary ends have frequently from time to time carried sundry passengers and horses to the damage of those that hire said Ferry.

Therefore We Your most Humble Petitioners the Trustees of the said Town of Huntington in behalf of the said Town do Most Humbly Intreat that you would use your uttermost endeavours to have an Act passed by the Honourable Assembly that the Trustees of said Town for the time being and their successors shall have full liberty to hire out the said Ferry for the publick good of the said Town.

The said Ferry when so stated will doubtless be of extensive advantage not only to the Town of Huntington in general, but also to many persons in other Towns both in Suffolk and Queens County who have frequently gone over said Ferry in times lately past.

It is desired that in said Act all persons shall be prohibited from carrying any passengers over said Ferry except those to whom the Trustees shall hire out the said Ferry.

As to the prices to be stated and conditions of said Ferry for Passengers and horses, the Honourable Legislature may either insert the same or refer it to their Petitioners which they shall see most proper.

Your compliance will much Oblige your Most Humble Servants

NATHANIEL KETCHAM, P.T.
SOLOMON KETCHAM
JOHN WOOD
TIMOTHY CONKLING
MATTHEW BUNCE
HENRY SCUDDER
JONAS WILLIAMS

XII.—MEMORANDA.

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH COMSTOCK, M. D.*

LIBERTY HILL, CONN., October 3d, 1867.

DEAR SIR:

I receive your Journal with much pleasure and thank you for your politeness. I send you what follows, hoping they may please you as articles worthy of insertion in the same.

Your most obedient,
JOSEPH COMSTOCK.

1.—PETER THE GREAT,
as an Anatomist, Surgeon, and Medical Man.

In the year 1698, Peter commenced the study

* With the liveliest pleasure we find room for this article, from the pen of one who is probably our most venerable reader.

Doctor Comstock was old enough, nearly sixty-eight years ago, to be selected by his townsmen to pronounce a Eulogy on General Washington, immediately after the decease of that great and good man; and to-day, our venerable friend and correspondent is enjoying excellent health, walks with

of anatomy at Leyden, in the Netherlands; and afterwards pursued it at Amsterdam, under the great anatomist, Ruysch. He seems to have had peculiar pleasure in witnessing human dissections. At Moscow, he was, at one time, punctual in his attendance on the anatomical lectures of M. Bidloo.

It is told of the Czar, as an evidence of his zeal in this kind of knowledge, that he directed the dissection of a half-witted page, who had died of intoxication, should be postponed till he could be present.

He ordered that all monstrosities produced in the Empire should be brought to St. Petersburg, for preservation. This accounts for the enormous collection of these freaks of nature, in the Imperial Museum, still in good condition and to be seen at this time.

He always carried a case of surgical instruments in his pocket, in which were lancets, tooth drawers, a saw-knife, spatula, scissors, a sound, and catheter.

He was extremely ambitious to be thought a first-rate operator. He required that notice should be given him of all important operations; and he attended as many of them as the nature of his multifarious concerns, as Emperor of the greatest Empire, geographically considered, on the globe, would allow. Tooth-drawing, bleeding, etc., he was continually engaged in.

A merchant had an abscess on his foot opened by his terrific majesty, which proved so successful, that the Royal Surgeon became enamored with his own professional abilities. People began to fear their Monarch's love of the art of healing; and therefore governed themselves accordingly.

When the news reached a certain lady of high rank, who had a similar disease on her foot, she left her abode, post-haste, lest assistance should be tendered from the palace.

A merchant's wife, who was laboring under a dropsy of the abdomen, utterly refused to be governed by the advice of her medical attendants. Such was the singularity of the case, that, like everything of the kind, the Czar heard of it. He immediately waited upon the lady, and partly by persuasion, but probably more through the danger apprehended from refusing the chirurgical services of the Royal operator, in the presence of the faculty, he actually, with his own hands, performed the nice operation of *paracentesis abdominis*, and drew off twenty-four pounds of water. Unfortunately the patient died.

He had a remarkable giant, and a dwarf, equally remarkable. Both died, and by his express command they were both flayed and their skins

much of the activity of his early manhood, and hardly seems to be aware of the extent of his years.

With the most earnest wishes for his continued health and activity, we welcome him to our pages. ED. HIST. MAG.

stuffed for the future wonder and admiration of the curious.

2.—LONGEVITY.

By the census of the United States in 1850, there were two thousand, five hundred, and fifty-five persons of one hundred years old and upward—a greater number than are to be found of that age, in any other country, kingdom or empire, in the known world.

A late number of the *London Lancet* states that a man of that age is very rare in England, and that a single centenarian was then unknown.

Ireland, on the contrary, in 1853, presented the following singular instance: "Owen Duffy, of Monaghan County, Ireland, is one hundred and twenty-two years old. When he was one hundred and sixteen he lost his second wife, and subsequently married a third, by whom he had a son and daughter. His youngest son is two years old, and his eldest ninety. He still retains in much vigor his mental and corporeal faculties; and frequently walks to the county town, a distance of eight miles."

China, by a modern census, which we have seen, had only four centenarians, in a population of four hundred and seventy millions.

It is possible that Russia exceeds any other country in very aged people. An instance which we have seen related, of a man, who married at the age of one hundred and two, had two daughters by that marriage, and lived to see them both married before his own decease. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty-eight.

XIII.—THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

AN IMPORTANT LETTER FROM GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSON.

SELMA, MARCH 21.

EDITORS OF SELMA DAILY MESSENGER.

GENTLEMEN: The life of Lieutenant-general (Stonewall) Jackson, by a member of his staff, will, evidently, be generally read in the South. It is, therefore, important to me to endeavor to correct the errors relating to myself, which I observed in glancing over that part of the work preceeding and referring to the battle of Manassas. On that account, I respectfully ask the publication of what follows, in your paper:

PAGES 196-7: "When General Johnston, however, arrived at Harper's Ferry, and claimed to relieve Colonel Jackson of his command, the latter had received no directions from the State government to surrender his trust. And here arose a temporary collision between the two authorities, which displayed the inflexibility of Jackson's character. He replied that he had been intrusted by Major-general Lee, at the command of the State of

"Virginia, with this charge; and he could only relinquish it by his orders. In this position he was while respectful, immovable; and as the Confederate commander was equally firm, a mischievous strife was anxiously feared. But very soon, the mails brought an application from some person pertaining to Colonel Jackson's command, upon which was indorsed in the handwriting of Major-general Lee, a reference to the authority of General Johnston, as commanding at Harper's Ferry. This furnished Colonel Jackson all the evidence which he desired, to justify his surrender of his trust" * * * * *

I think that this statement magnifies the circumstance in question, and does injustice to General Jackson's character. The State of Virginia had joined the Confederacy and transferred the control of its military affairs to the President, several weeks before my arrival at Harper's Ferry, on the twenty-third of May, 1861. Within an hour after my arrival, General (then Colonel) Jackson came to see me; and the order assigning me to the command he had been exercising was shown to him. On the following morning, my order assuming the command was sent to him, with a request, in writing, that he would have the necessary number of copies made and distributed to the troops. After acknowledging my note and order, he wrote: "Until I receive further instructions from Governor Letcher or General Lee I do not feel at liberty to transfer my command to another, and must, therefore, decline publishing the order. Meanwhile, I beg you to be assured that it will give me pleasure to afford yourself and the other officers named, every facility in my power for obtaining appropriate information relating to the post, and departments of the service connected with it." Major Whiting, who fell in defence of Fort Fisher, as Major-general, a West Point associate of General Jackson, at my request, represented to him that the authority of the Confederate Government was paramount in the case, and the manner of transferring the command in accordance with military rule. He soon reported General Jackson convinced. The whole affair occupied little more time than was consumed in going twice and back from my Quarters to General Jackson's. There was no display of inflexibility on his part; nor exhibition of firmness on mine. There was nothing in the affair to call forth those qualities. If there was any "collision between the two authorities" I was not conscious of it, as well as of the danger of "mischievous strife."

PAGE 201: "On this expedition, Colonel Jackson was ordered by General Johnston to destroy the locomotives and cars of the Baltimore Railroad, at Martinsburg. At this village there were vast workshops for the construction and repair of those cars; and more than forty of the finest

"locomotives, with three hundred burden cars, were now destroyed. Concerning this, he writes: 'It was a sad work; but I had my orders, my duty was to obey. If the cost of the property could only have been expended in disseminating the Gospel of the Prince of Peace, how much might have been expected.'

"That this invaluable property should have been withdrawn to Winchester, by the way of Harper's Ferry, before this point was evacuated, is too plain to be argued. Whose was the blunder cannot be ascertained; that it was not Colonel Jackson's appears from the extract of his letter just inserted."

The letter quoted does not refer to the removal of the property, and therefore furnishes no evidence on the subject. It only expresses the natural regret of a good man, at a great destruction of property, rendered necessary by a state of war. If Colonel Jackson had thought the suggested removal right, he would have attempted it while in command at Harper's Ferry, between the twenty-ninth of April and twenty-fourth of May, as I should have done, between the last date and fifteenth of June. Colonel Jackson's course was probably prompted by the consideration that directed mine; and gives the authority of his great character to my course. It would not have been right, on our part, to seize the property of that road before the evacuation of Harper's Ferry; nor politic to commit such an act of war against citizens of Maryland, when we were receiving so much aid from that State and hoping for much more. The seizure or destruction of that property by us, could have been justified only by the probability of its military use by the enemy. That probability did not appear until about the time when Colonel Jackson received the order in question: then, being unable to remove, we were compelled to destroy it.

But the most valuable part of this property, the engines, could not have been removed in the manner pointed out. Up to the time of evacuating Harper's Ferry, we were removing the machinery for manufacturing small arms, as fast it could be transported on the railroad, to Winchester. To expedite this work, I proposed to borrow engines from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, but was assured by the engineers of both roads, that that to Winchester, especially near Harper's Ferry, where it was supported on trestles, was not strong enough to bear those engines, which were much heavier than those for which it was constructed; and that if brought upon that road they would inevitably crush it. This would have stopped the removal of the machinery from Harper's Ferry, which was far more valuable to the Confederacy than all the rolling stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Road.

PAGE 211: "Accordingly, on the forenoon of Thursday, the eighteenth, the Army of the

"Valley, numbering about eleven thousand men, was ordered under arms."

PAGES 212-13: "The forced march of thirty miles brought the army to Piedmont Station, at the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, whence they hoped to reach their destination more easily by railroad. General Jackson's infantry was placed upon trains, there, on the forenoon of Friday, (the nineteenth day of July), while the artillery and cavalry continued their march by the country roads.

"The President of the Railroad Company promised that the whole army should be transported on successive trains to Manassas Junction, by the morning of Saturday; but by a collision, which was, with great appearance of reason, attributed to treachery, the track was obstructed, and all the remaining troops detained without any provision for their subsistence, for two precious days. Had they been provided with food and ordered to continue their forced march, their zeal would have brought the whole to the field long before the commencement of the battle."

It is twenty-three, not thirty, miles from Winchester to Piedmont, and thirty-four thence to Manassas. Jackson's brigade reached Piedmont early on Friday; but the other troops arrived at the usual time of ending a day's march—making two marches of this distance of twenty-three miles. At that rate, the thirty-four miles remaining would have consumed nearly three days; and the troops, if they had marched on with the least practicable delay, would have arrived at the scene of action the day after the battle. Jackson's might have reached it Sunday night. The author said his army amounted to eleven thousand men. More than eight thousand of them were in the battle, conveyed on trains, the first of which arrived at Manassas on Friday evening, and the last about noon, on Sunday. The detention of the remainder was due to the wretched mismanagement of the railroad trains. The only collision occurred on Saturday night, of a train bearing the Sixth North Carolina regiment and an empty one returning. The regiment was carried on, reached Manassas Station on Sunday morning, and took part in the battle. Elzey's brigade, on another train, passed over the place of collision soon after the occurrence, and reached Manassas Station soon after noon on Sunday. The facts prove that the track was not obstructed, at least not seriously. None of the troops were left without any provisions for their subsistence. If any of them suffered for want of food, it was in consequence of throwing away their rations—then not unusual on a march. We left Winchester with as much provisions as we had the means of transporting; and had enough for two days after the arrival of the troops at Manassas, on Monday. The author asserts that

all the remaining troops (Jackson's infantry being placed on trains), were detained at Piedmont two days, without food. These troops got to Piedmont on Friday afternoon, and the battle began on Sunday morning, not much more than one marching day after the arrival at Piedmont. About eight thousand, three hundred of the eleven thousand, at which he estimates the army of the Shenandoah, were engaged in the battle; therefore, but two thousand, seven hundred could have been detained at Piedmont. The fact that these troops were two days in marching twenty-three miles from Winchester to Piedmont, shows that they could not have marched thirty-four miles, from Piedmont to the scene of action, in less than two days; and that the only hope of getting them into the battle was by the railroad.

PAGES 215-16: "The plan of battle which was adopted, after the designs of the enemy were fully disclosed, was worthy of the genius of Beauregard, who suggested, and of Johnston, who accepted it. This was to send the two reserve brigades, which were at hand, to sustain the shock upon the left, and to enable that wing of the army to hold its ground for a time, while the centre and right were advanced across Bull Run, and swung around into a position parallel to the enemy's line of march, toward the Stone Bridge, with the view of assailing their rear-guard and their line of communication at Centreville."

"The plan of battle," so extolled by the author, was made impracticable by McDowell's turning movement and therefore was abandoned, when the "designs of the enemy were fully disclosed." The movements of Bee and Jackson to the left, so far from being the consequence of the disclosure of the enemy's plans, preceded that discovery; indeed, it was Bee's encounter with the Federal army which revealed to me its designs, and "such reinforcements as could be spared from the centre and right" were then ordered to hasten to the firing. The plan the author supposes and admires, would have kept our centre and right (six brigades,) out of action, and enabled the Federal army to crush the other three. Centreville was three and a half miles north of our centre on Bull Run, and the field of battle was a mile and a half south of our original left on Bull Run; so that it is clear that the troops which might have moved to Centreville in the beginning of the action could by no possibility have reached the field in time to take part in it, but would have assisted McDowell in his turning operation, and made it impossible to prevent his seizure of our depot at Manassas.

PAGES 216-17: "The two generals despatched the order for this movement to the commanders of the right and centre, and then galloped for the scene of action." * * *

Not orders for the movement supposed, but countermarching it, and directing troops from the centre and right to march rapidly to the fight.

PAGE 217: " * * and Beauregard, after listening in anxious suspense to hear his guns open upon the heights of Centreville, until the day and the battle were too far advanced for any other resort, relinquished the movement. * * "The only tactics which remained for the Confederate Generals were to bring up such reinforcements as could be spared from the centre and right successively." * * *

General Beauregard could not have listened for the opening of guns on the heights of Centreville, for none had been sent there. McDowell's turning movement was revealed by Bee not earlier than half-past ten o'clock, A. M. If the centre and right had then been ordered to Centreville, as the author states, they could not have reached it much, if at all, before two o'clock P. M. If those troops had then been ordered into the action, they could not have joined in it: it would have been too late. As it was, of the three and a half brigades ordered up, two were too late, although those orders were despatched at least as early as eleven o'clock, A.M.

This account of the battle does great injustice to General Beauregard and to Bee's and Early's brigades and their commanders. General Jackson's great fame is in no degree enhanced by such disparagement of his associates.

PAGE 230: "The pursuit of the enemy was not continued beyond Centreville, and this was the first error which made the laurels of the Confederate army, so fair to the eye, barren of substantial fruit. It was accounted for, in part, by the paucity of cavalry; but this excuse was no justification, because the cavalry in hand, of which only two companies had been engaged in the actual combat, was not pertinaciously pressed after the fugitives, but paused even before it met with any solid resistance from them."

The "substantial fruit" of this victory was the preservation of the Confederacy. No more could have been hoped for. The pursuit of the enemy was not continued, because our cavalry (a very small force) was driven back by the "solid resistance" of the United States infantry. Its rear guard was an entire division, which had not been engaged, and was twelve or fifteen times more numerous than our two little bodies of cavalry. The infantry was not required to continue the pursuit, because it would have been harrassing it to no purpose. It is well known that infantry, unencumbered by baggage trains, can easily escape pursuing infantry. Napoleon's victories of Lutten and Bautzen are strong instances. I maintain that, considering the relative strength of the belligerents, the Southern people could not have

hoped for more "substantial fruits" of this victory. The defeat of the Confederate army would have involved the immediate overthrow of the Confederacy.

PAGE 230 : "Another cause of the interrupted pursuit was a rumor brought at sunset to the commanding Generals, by some alarmed scout, who had seen some bewildered picket of the enemy wandering through the country, that a powerful Federal force was about to attack the lines of Bull Run, near Union Mills, where they were now denuded of defenders. This caused them to recall the fresher regiments from the chase, and send them upon a forced march of seven or eight miles, to meet an imaginary enemy, and to return next morning to the field of battle."

We had, of course, but one commanding General—myself. The story of the "alarmed scout" and "bewildered picket" is doubtless intended for sarcastic surmise—not fact. It is out of place in a Biography of Jackson. No troops were "recalled from the chase and sent seven or eight miles by night" or day "to meet an imaginary enemy." Holmes's brigade, which arrived too late to join in the battle or pursuit, and Ewell's, reported by its commander to be four miles off after the fight was over, were ordered to return to their camps, for the comfort of the men and to spare Ewell's a needless march. The latter, in his conversation with me, said that the Federal troops which had been facing our centre and right during the day, were reported to be advancing. He agreed with me, however, that if this were true, they would soon be recalled to serve as a rear guard. Still, he and Holmes were cautioned to be on their guard. No soldier was ordered by me to march in consequence of this report, or exposed to discomfort or fatigue. No troops were ordered to the "field of battle" next day, except those detailed to collect the arms, etc. Our infantry, which pursued the enemy from the field, finding their pursuit ineffectual, soon abandoned it.

PAGE 231 : "It was expected that the Confederate commanders would at least pursue the enemy to the gates of their intrenchments before Alexandria and Washington; and it was hoped that it might not be impracticable, in the agony of their confusion, to recover the Virginian city, to conquer the hostile capital, with its immense spoils, and to emancipate oppressed Maryland by one happy blow."

These expectations and hopes were expressed at the time, not by military men who understood the state of affairs, but by the same military critics of the Press who had but a little while before heaped denunciation on me for the measure which averted the capture of our army in the Valley, and enabled it to preserve the Confeder-

acy at Manassas,—the abandonment of Harper's Ferry. Such a pursuit would have been fruitless. We could not have carried the intrenchments named by assault, and had none of the means to besiege them. Our assault would have been repulsed, and the enemy, then become the victorious party, would have resumed their march to Richmond. But if we had captured the intrenchments, a river a mile wide lay between them and Washington, commanded by the heavy guns of a Federal fleet. If we had taken Alexandria, which stand on low and level ground, those guns would have driven us out of it in a few hours, at the same time killing our friends, the inhabitants. We could not cross the Potomac, and therefore it was impracticable to "conquer the hostile capital" or "emancipate oppressed Maryland." The failure of our invasions in 1862 and 1863, with far greater means, might convince the Southern people, I think, that the author's expectations extravagant.

PAGE 231 : "The toiling army, which had marched and fought along the hills of Bull Run through the long July day, demanded with enthusiasm, to be led after the flying foe, and declared that they would march the soles off their feet in so glorious an errand, without a murmur."

My information of the disposition of the army was very different. According to it, the troops believed that their victory had established the independence of the South—that all their country required of them had been accomplished—the war ended, and their military obligations fulfilled. They therefore left the army in crowds, to return to their homes. Such was the report of the Generals, Colonels, staff-officers, and railroad officials. The exultation of victory cost us more than the Federal army lost by defeat.

PAGES 231. "But more than this; the morning after the battle saw an aggregate of ten thousand fresh men, composed of the remainder of the Army of the Valley, who had at length reached the scene, and of reinforcements from Richmond, arrive within the intrenchments at Manassas Junction, who were burning with enthusiasm, and expected nothing else than to be led against the enemy at once."

I have no records; but according to my recollection, the Sixth South Carolina Regiment constituted the only reinforcements from Richmond at the time referred to. On Page 211, the Army of the Valley is estimated at eleven thousand. So that less than two thousand, seven hundred men of that army must have arrived the day after the battle, as more than eight thousand, three hundred were engaged in it. I am confident that, if we had marched a few days after the battle to "conquer Washington," and "emancipate Maryland," we should not have brought twenty thou-

sand men to the banks of the Potomac. Our men, as has been already said, believed the contest decided—their objects achieved—and were more disposed to go home and enjoy the independence and glory they had won, than to renew the war on Northern soil.

PAGES 231—32. "In a few days the patriotic citizens of Alexandria sent authentic intelligence of the condition of the beaten rabble, there and in Washington, which a true military sagacity would have anticipated, as Jackson did, without actual testimony."

No such intelligence was sent to me. Nor were the Federal troops south of the Potomac, a rabble. Mansfield's, Miles's, and Runyon's divisions, a larger force than we could have brought against them, had not been beaten nor engaged; and the reports of the commanders of the brigades engaged, show that they entered the intrenchments organized, except those who fled individually from the field. These latter undoubtedly gave an exaggerated idea of the rout, to the people of Washington; as those from our ranks, met by the President, before he reached Manassas on his way to the field, convinced him that our army had been defeated.

PAGE 232: "For days there was neither organization, nor obedience, nor thought of resistance on the south side of the Potomac."

This assertion is unfounded. It is disproved by the reports of the Federal general officers, and the fact that General Scott, who had near twenty-five thousand men idle within twenty-four hours of Washington, brought up none of them; and that the President, Cabinet and members of Congress seem to have been unconscious of danger—or such a state of things as that describes.

PAGE 233: "Now, then, said the more reflecting, was the time for vigorous audacity. Now a Napoleonic genius, were he present, would make this another Jena in its splendid fruits." * * * "He would firmly press upon the disorganized masses; he would thunder at the gates of Washington; and replenishing his exhausted equipments with the mighty spoils, rush blazing, like the lightning that shineth from one part under the heaven to the other, through the affrightened North." * * *

The author surely does not expect rational readers to believe that this bombast was really uttered in the army, or that our soldiers condemned their General for not being a "Napoleonic genius," when but one is found in all history. The "splendid fruits" of the battle of Jena were due to the fact that Napoleon with about equal force, turned the Prussian army before defeating it. Had it been able to take refuge in intrenchments covering the passage of a river a mile wide, those "fruits" would have been less

than ours—which were, the preservation of the Confederacy, for the time.

The masses referred to were less disorganized by defeat than our army by triumph. By "gates of Washington" is meant, I suppose, the fortifications upon which skilful engineers, commanding the resources of the United States, were engaged for several months—manned by double our numbers, half of whom had not seen the battle—and a river a mile wide commanded by the guns of the United States fleet. We attempted invasion in 1862, and again in 1863. First, after General Lee's victories over McClellan and Pope, and Jackson's over Banks, Fremont, and Shields. The second time, when the way was supposed to have been opened by the effects of the battles of Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville.

On these occasions, the forces defeated were ten times as great as those repulsed on the twenty-first day of July, 1861, and their losses twenty times as great. Yet those defeated armies met us at Sharpsburg and Gettysburg, so strengthened in numbers and spirit as to send back the war into Virginia. These events show how far, in July, 1861, our army could have "rushed blazing" through the North (and it could have crossed the Potomac), and how much the North would have been "frightened." The failure of invasions conducted by Lee, aided by Longstreet and Jackson, and attempted under such circumstances, proves that the Confederacy was too weak for offensive war, and is a conclusive argument in favor of the course against which the author declaims so vehemently.

PAGE 234: "He (General Jackson) was then compelled to sit silent and see the noble army, with its enthusiastic recruits, withering away in inaction on the plains of Bull Run, now doubly pestilential from the miasma of the August heats and the stench of the battle-field; under camp fevers ten-fold more fatal than all the bullets of the enemy. Regiments dwindled, under the scourge, to skeletons; and the rude, temporary hospitals acquired trains of graves, far more numerous and extensive than those upon the hills around the Stone Bridge."

If General Jackson had seen the state of things described above he *could not* have been compelled to "sit silent." He *would have* done his duty by protecting his brigade from the effects of such wretched incompetence, by remonstrance to the General, and if that proved ineffective, by appeal to the Government. His silence proves that he did not see the evils his biographer describes.

It is well known that large bodies of new troops are sickly in all climates. Our sick reports were larger in the healthy climate of the Valley than at the time referred to. No troops were then encamped in the valley of Bull Run, or nearer to the "battle-field" than four or five

miles. The dead had been buried so that the ladies visited the field without inconvenience. The writer's own estimate and General Beauregard's, very strongly contradict this account of our great losses by disease. He estimates the army of the Valley at eleven thousand when it left Winchester. General Beauregard reported his to be about twenty-one thousand, including one thousand five hundred mounted men, and the garrison of Manassas (two thousand soldiers and seamen), in all about thirty-two thousand; deducting one thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-three lost in battle, leaves thirty thousand, one hundred, and seven—not estimating the thousands who went home in the belief that their victory had terminated the war. On page 239, the author says, after their "forces had grown to about 'sixty thousand men,'" the Confederate Generals "pushed their lines forward to Munson's and 'Mason's Hills.'" This was early in September. According to this, the army had then been increased by the difference between sixty thousand and thirty thousand, one hundred, and seven—twenty-nine thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-three. If my recollection is correct, it had received since the battle ten regiments—one from South Carolina, one from North Carolina, one from Texas, one from Alabama, two from Mississippi, and four from Georgia, averaging less than six hundred men. So that these reinforcements amounted to not more than six thousand, leaving twenty-three thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-three, as the growth of the regiments represented to have "dwindled under the scourge to 'skeletons.'" But these assertions—that our regiments dwindled to skeletons during August, and that the army had grown to about sixty thousand men early in September,—are altogether incorrect. I have contrasted them to show the carelessness of the author's accusations. The battle and its consequences reduced our army to about twenty-seven thousand men. When its advanced guard occupied Munson's and Mason's Hills early in September, it had received, since the battle, not more than six thousand. So that its strength was little more than half of the biographer's estimate.

PAGE 236: "The wearied Confederate soldiers 'did not find the rain any the less dreary on the 'next day, because they were either counter-marched up and down Bull Run, or left to 'crouch on the battle-field in fence corners, without tents, instead of engaging in the inspiring 'pursuit of the enemy.'"

None of our troops were countermarched up and down Bull Run the next day. None were on the battle-field but those detailed to collect arms, &c. Beauregard's troops had a full supply of tents, and those from the Valley a partial one. Pursuit would have been fruitless, and therefore anything but inspiring.

PAGE 236: "The country was then teeming 'with supplies; herds of bullocks were feeding 'in the pastures around Centreville; and the 'barns of the farmers were loaded with grain."

The country between Bull Run and Washington is poor and thinly peopled, and never teemed with supplies. If there were ever herds of bullocks in the pastures around Centreville; any Southern man can tell how many would have been left by a Federal army of four divisions (near forty thousand men), encamped there from the seventeenth to the twenty-first of July; and if there was ever abundance between that place and Washington, those who have seen a country through which a Federal army had marched once, can judge of the abundance left where it had passed twice.

PAGE 236: "A march of twenty-five miles 'could surely have been accomplished without 'baggage or rations, especially when—the short 'effort might lead them to the spoils of a wealthy 'capital."

It is about forty miles from the field of battle to Washington by the main road, through Alexandria—perhaps four less by Munson's Hill. At the end of that march a broad navigable river would have separated our army from "the spoils 'of a wealthy capital."

J. E. JOHNSTON.

NOTE.—The numbers given above express effective force.

XIV.—PATENT OF THE TOWN OF QUEENSBURY, NEW YORK.

COMMUNICATED BY A. W. HOLDEN, M. D.

[The following document copied verbatim from the original Patent, was written upon two large sheets of Parchment in the old English character, and engrossed with great precision and elegance. It is the property now of the family of Richard Wing, deceased, to whom it has descended as an heir-loom—it having been confided to the keeping of his grandfather, Abraham Wing, by the original grantees, and remained in the possession of the family ever since. I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Ashel Wing, Richard Wing's son), Cashier of the Fort Edward National Bank, for the perusal and opportunity of copying this and other parchments and documents. A. W. H.]

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, TO all to whom these Presents shall come, GREETING. WHEREAS our loving subjects, Daniel Prindle, Elihu Marsh, Thomas Hungerford, Samuel Hungerford, John Buck, Daniel Tryon, Amos Leach, Benjamin Seeley, Anthony Wanser, Jonathan Weeks, John Page, Elihu Marsh, Junior, Abraham Wanser, Benjamin Elliot, John Seeley, Aaron Prindle, Thomas Northorp, Ezekiel Pain, Jedediah Graves, David Commins, Ebenezer Preston, David Preston, and Joshua Agard, did by their humble petition presented unto our trusty

and well beloved Cadwallader Colden, Esquire, our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in chief of our Province of New York and the territories thereon depending, in America, in Council, on the thirty-first day of March, now last past, humbly pray our Letters Patent granting to each of the said Petitioners especially and to their respective heirs, the quantity of One Thousand Acres of a certain Tract of Land, in the said Province, vested in the Crown that had been surveyed and laid out for the said Daniel Prindle and his associates above named of the contents of six miles square adjoining to the lands intended to be granted to James Bradshaw and others between Fort Edward and Lake George under the Quit Rent provisos, Limitations and restrictions directed and prescribed by Our Royal Instructions together with the like privileges of a Township (as were lately granted to Isaac Sawyer and others) by the name of Queensbury Township, WHICH PETITION having been then and there read and considered of, our said Council did afterwards, on the fifteenth day of April now last past, humbly advise our said Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief to grant the prayer thereof. WHEREFORE, in obedience to our said Royal Instructions our Commissioners appointed for the setting out all lands to be granted within our said Province have set out for the petitioners above named ALL that certain Tract or Parcel of Land situate lying and being in the County of Albany on the north side of Hudson's river between Ft. Edward and Lake George BEGINNING at the north west corner of a certain Tract of land surveyed for James Bradshaw and his associates and running from the said northwest corner, north twenty-seven chains, then west, five hundred and thirty-five chains, then south, five hundred and thirty-six chains to Hudson's River, then down the stream of said River as it runs to the west Bounds of the said Tract surveyed for James Bradshaw and his associates, then along the said West Bounds North to the place where this tract first began, containing after deducting for sundry ponds of water lying within the above mentioned Bounds Twenty-three thousand acres of land and the usual allowances for Highways. AND in setting out the said Tract of Land the said Commissioners have had regard to the profitable and unprofitable acres, and have taken care that the length thereof doth not extend along the Banks of any other River otherwise than is conformable to our said Royal Instructions for that purpose as by a certificate thereof under their hand bearing Date the Twenty-first Day of April now last past and entered on Record in our Secretary's Office in our City of New York may more fully appear. Which said Tract of Land set out as aforesaid according to our said Royal Instructions, We being willing to grant to the said

[Defaced and Illegible.]

knowledge

granted ratified and confirmed and DO by these Presents for us our Heirs and Survivors give, grant, ratify, and confirm unto them the said Daniel Prindle, Elihu Marsh, Thomas Hungerford, Samuel Hungerford, John Buck, Daniel Tryon, Amos Leach, Benjamin Seely, Anthony Wansar, Jonathan Weeks, John Page, Elihu Marsh, Junior, Abraham Wanser, Benjamin Elliot, John Seeley, Aaron Prindle, Thomas Northorp, Ezekiel Pain, Jedediah Graves, David Commins, Ebenezer Preston, Daniel Preston and Joshua Agard their Heirs and Assignees for ever ALL THAT the aforesaid Tract or parcel of Land set out abutted bounded and described in Manner and Form above mentioned together with all and singular the Tenements and Appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining, and also all our Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Possession, Claim and Demand whatsoever of, in and to the same Lands and Premises and every part and parcel thereof and the Reversion and Reversions Remainder and Remainders, Rents, Issues and Profits thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof, EXCEPT and always reserved out of this our present Grant, unto us, our Heirs and Successors for ever, all mines of Gold and Silver and also all White and other sorts of Pine Trees fit for masts of the Growth of Twenty-four Inches Diameter and upwards at twelve Inches from the Earth, for Masts for the Royal Navy of us our Heirs and Successors, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD one full and equal Three and Twentieth part (the whole into Twenty three equal parts to be divided) of the said Tract or parcel of Land, Tenements, Hereditaments and Premises by these Presents granted, ratified and confirmed, and every part and parcel thereof with their and every of their appurtenances, (except as is herein before excepted) unto each of them our Grantees above mentioned their Heirs and Assignees respectively, TO their only proper and separate use and Behoof respectively for ever as Tenants in common and not as joint Tenants. TO BE HOLDEN of us, our Heirs and Successors in fee and common socage as of our Manor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent within our Kingdom of Great Britain; YIELDING, rendering, and paying therefore yearly and every year forever unto us our Heirs and Successors at our Custom House in our City of New York, unto our or their Collector or Receiver

[Defaced and Illegible.]

the yearly rent of two shillings and six pence Sterling for each and every Hundred Acres of the above granted lands and so in proportion for any less in quantity thereof saving and except for such part of the said Lands allowed for Highways as above mentioned

in Lieu and stead of all other Rents, Services, Dues, Duties, and Demands whatsoever for the hereby granted Lands and Premises, or any part thereof. AND WE DO, of our especial Grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, create, erect and constitute the said Tract or parcel of Land hereby granted and every part and parcel thereof a Township for ever hereafter to be, continue, and remain, and by the name of QUEENSBURY Township for ever hereafter to be called and known. AND for the better and more easily carrying on and managing the public affairs and Business of the said Township our Royal will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us our Heirs and Successors, give and grant to the inhabitants of said Township all the Powers, Authority, Privileges and Advantages heretofore given and granted to or legally enjoyed by all, any, or either our other Townships within our said Province. AND we also ordain and establish that there shall be forever hereafter in the said Township, One Supervisor, Two Assessors, One Treasurer, Two Overseers of the Highways, Two Overseers of the Poor, One Collector and four Constables elected and chosen out of the Inhabitants of the said Township yearly and every year on the first Tuesday in May at the most publick place in the said Township, by the majority of Freeholders thereof,

[*End of contents of first piece of parchment.*]

THEN and there met and assembled for that purpose, hereby declaring that wheresoever the first Election in the said Township shall be held the future Elections shall forever thereafter be held in the same place as near as may be, and giving and Granting unto the said officers so chosen, power and authority to exercise their said several and respective offices have or legally may use or exercise their offices in our said Province. (*sic*) AND in case any or either of the officers of the said Township should die or remove from said Township before the Time of their Annual service shall be expired or refuse to act in the Offices for which they shall

[*Defaced and illegible.*]

of the said Township to meet at the place where the annual election shall be held for the said Township and chuse other or others of the said Inhabitants of the said Township in the place or stead of him or them so dying removing or refusing to act within Forty days next after such contingency. AND to prevent any undue election in this case, We do hereby ordain and require, That upon every vacancy in the office of Supervisor, the Assessors and in either of the other offices, the Supervisor of the said Township shall within ten days next after any such vacancy first happens appoint the Day for such Election and give public Notice thereof in Writing under his or their Hands by affixing such Notice on the Church Door, or

other most public place in the said Township, at the least Ten days before the Day appointed for such Election, and in Default thereof we do hereby require the Officer or Officers of the said Township or the Survivor of them, who in the order they are hereinbefore mentioned, shall next succeed him or them so making Default, within ten days next after such default to appoint the day for such election, and give notice thereof as aforesaid, HEREBY Giving and Granting that such person or persons as shall be so chosen by the majority of such of the Freeholders of the said Township as shall meet in manner hereby directed, shall have, hold, exercise and enjoy the Office or Offices, to which he or they shall be so elected and chosen from the Time of such Election, until the first Tuesday in May then next following, and until other or others be legally chosen in his or their place and stead as fully as the person or persons in whose place he or they shall be chosen might or would have done by virtue of these presents. AND WE do hereby will and direct that this method shall for ever hereafter, be used for the filling up all vacancies that shall happen in any or either of the said Offices between the annual Elections above directed, PROVIDED always and upon condition nevertheless, that if our said Grantees, their heirs or assigns, or some or one of them, shall not, within three years next after the conclusion of our present war with France, settle on the said Tract of Land hereby granted so many families as shall amount to one Family for every thousand acres thereof, OR if they, our said Grantees, or one of them, their or one of their heirs or assigns, shall not also within three years, to be computed as aforesaid, plant and effectually cultivate at the least three acres for every thousand acres of such of the hereby granted Lands as are capable of cultivation, OR if they our said Grantees or any of them, or any of their heirs or assigns

[*Defaced and illegible.*]

person or persons by their or any of their privilege, consent, or procurement, shall fell, cut down or otherwise destroy any of the Pine Trees by these Presents reserved to us, our heirs and successors, or hereby intended so to be, without the Royal License of us, our heirs or successors for so doing first had and obtained, that then and in any of these cases, this, our present Grant and every Thing therein contained, shall cease and be absolutely void, and the Lands and Premises hereby granted shall revert to and vest in us, our heirs and successors, as if this our present Grant had not been made, anything hereinbefore contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding, PROVIDED further, and upon condition also nevertheless, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors direct and appoint that this our present Grant shall be

registered and entered on Record within six months from the date thereof, in our Secretary's Office, in our City of New York, in our said Province, in one of the Books of Patents there remaining and that a Docquet thereof shall be also entered in our Auditor's Office there, for our said Province, and that in default thereof this our present Grant shall be void and of none effect any Thing before in these Presents contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. AND WE DO moreover, of our Grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, consent, and agree that this our present Grant being registered, recorded and a Docquet thereof made as before directed and appointed, shall be good and effectual in the Law, to all Intents, Constructions and Purposes whatsoever against us, our heirs and Successors, notwithstanding any Misreciting, Misbouding, Misnaming, or other Imperfection or Omission of, in, or in any wise concerning the above granted or hereby mentioned or intended to be granted Lands, Tenements, hereditaments and premises, or any part thereof. IN TESTIMONY whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of our said Province to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS our said trusty and well beloved Cadwallader Colden, Esquire, our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of our Province of New-York and Territories depending thereon in America. At our Fort, in our City of New-York, the Twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty-two and of our Reign the second. (First Skin, Line 31, the word "of" interlined; line 47, the words "any or" wrote on an erasure; and Line 49, the word "the" interlined.)

CLARKE.

[*Endorsements on the back of the Parchment Skin No. 1*]

SECRETARY'S OFFICE 25th May 1762 The Within Letters Patent are Recorded in Lib Patents No 13 Pages 478 to 483.

GOW. BANYAR D Sec'y
NEW YORK AUDITOR GENETAL'S OFFICE 1st June, 1762. The within Letters Patent to Daniel Prindle and others are Docqueted in this office.

GOW. BANYAR Dept Auditor.

XV.—DESCRIPTION OF AN ANCIENT SEPULCHRAL MOUND NEAR NEWARK, OHIO.*

By O. C. MARSH, F.G.S.

In the first volume of the *Smithsonian Contributions*, Messrs. Squier and Davis have ably described the most important of those ancient

monuments of the Mississippi Valley, which render that region so interesting to the student of American archaeology. By discarding vague speculation, which had been the prominent fault of most previous investigators, and adopting that rigid method of research inaugurated so successfully by Scandinavian antiquaries, these authors were enabled to embody in their work all that was valuable in previous accounts, and to add much new and important information concerning that ancient population of this country, who have left behind them so many imposing structures. The subsequent researches of Squire, Latham, and others, have thrown additional light upon this interesting subject, so that at the present time the "Mound-builders" can no longer be regarded as an unknown people, although both tradition and history are silent in regard to them.

Few of these ancient monuments of the West have attracted more attention than the group of "Enclosures," or "Forts," near Newark, Ohio, which have long been celebrated on account of their great extent, and remarkable regularity. They consist mainly of elaborate earthworks, in the form of a circle, octagon, and square; and enclose an area of about four square miles, on the upper terrace, between two branches of the Licking River. They were well described by Atwater, in 1820, who regarded them as works of defense; and subsequently by Squier and Davis, who, however, considered them sacred enclosures. Scattered over the same plain, and crowning the neighboring hills, are numerous tumuli, or mounds, evidently erected by the same people who built the larger works.

While on a geological excursion through the West, during the last autumn, the writer spent several days at Newark, examining these various monuments, in company with George P. Russell, Esq., of Salem, Mass., who is well versed in everything relating to American antiquities. In the course of our investigations, a sepulchral mound was opened, which proved to be in many respects the most interesting one of the kind yet examined. Mounds of this class received from Squire and Davis much less attention than the smaller "Altar Mounds," as the latter usually contain more relics of ancient art. These authors, moreover, examined none of those belonging to the Newark group of works, although the mounds in that vicinity appear to present some points of difference from those of other localities. For these reasons a more detailed account of our explorations will be given than would otherwise be necessary. The mound selected for examination was about two and a half miles south of Newark, on the farm of Mr. Thomas Taylor, and was known in the neighborhood as the "Taylor Mound." It was conical in form, about ten feet in height, and eighty in diameter at the base, these being about the average

* From the *American Journal of Science*.

dimensions of the burial mounds in that vicinity. It was situated on the summit of a ridge, in the midst of a stately forest. On the mound itself several oak trees, two and a half to three feet in diameter, were growing, and near them were stumps of others, evidently of greater age. The mound stood quite alone, nearly half a mile from its nearest neighbor, and about three miles from the large earthworks already mentioned. In our explorations we were greatly assisted by Dr. J. N. Wilson, and Messrs. Dennis and Shrock, of Newark, and Charles W. Chandler, Esq., of Zanesville, who are all much interested in the local antiquities of that region.

An excavation about eight feet in diameter was first made from the apex of the mound, and after the surface soil was removed the earth was found to be remarkably compact, probably owing to its having been firmly trodden down when deposited. This earth was a light loam, quite different from the soil of the ridge itself, and its peculiar mottled appearance indicated that it had been brought to the spot in small quantities. In excavating the first five feet, which was a slow and very laborious undertaking, nothing worthy of notice was observed except some traces of ashes and pieces of charcoal and flint, scattered about at various depths. At five and a half feet below the surface, where the earth became less difficult to remove, a broken stone pipe was found, which had evidently been long in use. It was made of a very soft limestone, containing fragments of small fossil shells, apparently Cretaceous species. No rock of precisely this kind is known to exist in Ohio. Pieces of a tube of the same material, and about an inch in diameter, were found near the pipe. The cavity was about two-thirds of an inch in diameter, and had been bored out with great regularity. Similar tubes have occasionally been found in mounds, but their use is not definitely known.

About seven feet from the top of the mound a thin white layer was observed, which extended over a horizontal surface of several square yards. Near the centre of this space, and directly under the apex of the mound, a string of more than one hundred beads of native copper was found, and with it a few small bones of a child, about three years of age. The beads were strung on a twisted cord of coarse vegetable fibre, apparently the inner bark of a tree, and this had been preserved by salts of the copper, the antiseptic properties of which are well known. The position of the beads showed clearly that they had been wound two or three times around the neck of the child; and the bones themselves, (the neural arches of the cervical vertebrae, a clavicle, and a first rib), were precisely those which the beads would naturally come in contact with, when decomposition of the body ensued. The remains evidently owe their preservation to this fact, as they are all colored

with carbonate of copper, and the other parts of the skeleton had entirely decayed. The position the body had occupied, however, was still clearly indicated by the darker color of the earth. The beads were about one-fourth of an inch long, and one-third in diameter, and no little skill had been displayed in their construction. They were evidently made, without the aid of fire, by hammering the metal in its original state; but the joints were so neatly fitted that in most cases it was very difficult to detect them. On the same cord, and arranged at regular intervals, were five shell beads, of the same diameter, but about twice as long as those of copper. All had apparently been well polished, and the necklace, when worn, must have formed a tasteful and striking ornament.*

About a foot below the remains just described, and a little east of the centre of the mound, were two adult human skeletons, lying one above the other, and remarkably well preserved. The interment had evidently been performed with great care. The heads were toward the east, slightly higher than the feet, and the arms were carefully composed at the sides. A white stratum, similar in every respect to the one already mentioned, was here very distinct, and extended horizontally over a space of five or six yards, in the center of which the remains had been laid. The earth separated readily though this stratum, and an examination of the exposed surfaces showed that they were formed from two decayed layers of bark, on one of which the bodies had been placed, and the other covered over them. The smooth sides of the bark had thus come together, and the decomposition of the inner layers had produced the peculiar white substance, as a subsequent microscopic examination clearly indicated.† Directly above these skeletons was a layer of reddish earth, apparently a mixture of ashes and burned clay, which covered a surface of about a square yard. Near the middle of this space was a small pile of charred human bones, the remains of a skeleton which had been burned immediately over those just described. The fire had evidently been continued for some time, and then allowed to go out; when the fragments of bone and cinders that remained were scraped together, and covered with earth. All the bones were in small pieces, and most of them distorted by heat; but among them were found the lower extremity of a humerus, and

* Native copper seems to have been the favorite material for ornaments among the mound-builders. The metal was, without doubt, derived originally from the Lake Superior deposits, although it may have been found in the drift. It was more probably taken directly from the deposits themselves, as they exhibit abundant evidence of ancient mining operations, which no one familiar with such matters would attribute to the more recent Indians.

† This white layer, which was thought by Squier and Davis to be the remains of matting, is a characteristic feature in burial mounds. It has only been found where the interments were unquestionably those of mound builders.

some fragments of a fibula, which showed them to be human, and indicated an adult rather below the medium size. The two skeletons found beneath these remains were well formed, and of opposite sex. The ossification of the bones indicated that the female was about thirty years of age, and the male somewhat older. It is not impossible that these were husband and wife—and latter put to death and buried above the remains of her consort; and the charred bones may have been those of a human sacrifice, slain at the funeral ceremonies.* Near these skeletons was a small quantity of reddish brown powder, which proven on examination to be hematite. It was probably used as a paint.†

On continuing our excavations about a foot lower, and somewhat more to the eastward, a second pile of charred human bones was found resting on a layer of ashes, charcoal and burned clay. But one or two fragments of these remains could be identified as human, and these also indicated a small-sized adult. The incineration had apparently been performed in the same manner as in the previous instance. Immediately beneath the clay deposit a third white layer was observed, quite similar to that just described. In this layer was a male skeleton, not in so good a state of preservation as those already mentioned, although evidently belonging to an individual considerably older. In this case also the head was toward the east, and the burial had been carefully performed. Near this skeleton about a pint of white chaff was found, which appeared to belong to some of the native grasses. The form was still quite distinct, although nearly all the organic substance had disappeared. A few inches deeper, near the surface of the natural earth, several skeletons of various ages were met with, which had evidently been buried in a hurried manner. All were nearly or quite horizontal, but no layer of bark had been spread for their reception, and no care taken in regard to arrangement of limbs. These skeletons were in a tolerable state of preservation, some parts being quite perfect. A tibia and fibula, with most of the corresponding bones of a foot, were found quite by themselves, and well preserved.

Our excavations had now reached the original surface of the ridge on which the mound was erected, and we were about to discontinue further researches, when the dark color of the earth at one

point attracted attention and an examination soon showed that a cist, or grave, had first been excavated in the soil, before the mound itself was commenced. This grave was under the eastern part of the elevation, about four feet from the center. It consisted of a simple excavation, in an east and west direction, about six feet long, three wide, and nearly two deep. In this grave were found parts of at least eight skeletons, which had evidently been thrown in carelessly,—most of them soon after death, but one or two not until the bones had become detached and weathered. Some of the bones were very well preserved, and indicated individuals of various ages. Two infants, about a year and eighteen months old respectively, were each represented by a single os illium, and bones of several other small children were found. One skull, apparently that of a boy about twelve years of age, was recovered in fragments, and this was the best preserved of any obtained in the mound. The skeleton of an aged woman of small stature was found resting on its side. It was bent together, and lay across the grave with its head towards the north. Some of the loose, human bones, exhumed from the bottom of the grave were evidently imperfect when thrown in. Among these was part of a large femur, which had been gnawed by some carnivorous animal. The marks of the teeth were sharply defined, and corresponded to those made by a dog or a wolf.

Quite a number of implements of various kinds were found with the human remains in this grave. Near its eastern end, where the detached bones had been buried, were nine lance and arrow heads, nearly all of the same form, and somewhat rudely made of flint and chert. The material was probably obtained from "Flint ridge," a siliceous deposit of Carboniferous age, which crops out a few miles distant. These weapons are of peculiar interest, as it appears they are the first that have been discovered in a sepulchral mound, although many such have been carefully examined. They show that the custom—so common among the Indians of this country—of burying with the dead their implements of war or the chase, obtained occasionally, at least, among the mound-builders. Not far from these weapons six small hand-axes were found, one of which was made of hematite, and the rest of compact greenstone, or diorite, the material often used by the Indians for similar articles. Two of these corresponded closely in form with the stone hand-axe figured by Squier and Davis as the only one then known from the mounds. With these axes were found a small hatchet of hematite, a flint chisel, and a peculiar flint instrument, apparently used for scraping wood.

In the central part of the grave, near the aged female skeleton already alluded to, were a large number of bone implements, all exceedingly well

* Among the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians, when a ruler or other person of high rank died, his wives and domestics were often put to death at the tomb, and in some instances the remains were burned.

† A large quantity of the same substance was found in another mound near Newark. May not the "iron rust" discovered in the mound at Marietta, and regarded by some as a proof that the mound-builders were acquainted with that metal, have been merely this substance? Implements of hematite were, indeed, found in the same mound.—*Transactions American Antiquarian Society*, i. 168.

preserved. Among these were five needles, or bodkins, from three to six inches in length, neatly made from the metatarsal bones of the common deer; and also a spatula, cut from an ulna, and probably used for moulding pottery. With these were found about a dozen peculiar implements formed from the antlers of the deer and elk. They are cylindrical in form, from three to eight inches in length, and an inch to an inch and a half in diameter. Most of these had both ends somewhat rounded, and perfectly smooth, as if they had either been long in use or carefully polished. It is possible these implements were used for smoothing down the seams of skins or leather: they would, at least, be well adapted to such a purpose. A "whistle," made from a tooth of a young black bear, and several spoons, cut out of the shells of river mussels, were also obtained, near the same spot.

A vessel of coarse pottery was found near the western end of the grave, but, unfortunately, was broken in removing it. It was about five inches in its greatest diameter, six in height, and one-third of an inch in thickness. It was without ornament and rudely made of clay containing some sand and powdered quartz. It was filled with soft, black earth, the color being probably due to some animal or vegetable substance, which it contained when deposited in the grave. Fragments of a vase of similar material, but having the top ornamented, were found in another part of the mound. Neither of these vessels were superior, in any respect, to the pottery manufactured by the Indians.

Near the bottom of the mound, and especially in the grave, were various animal bones, most of them in an excellent state of preservation. Many of these belonged to the common deer, and nearly all the hollow bones had been skilfully split open lengthwise,—probably for the purpose of extracting the marrow,—a common custom among rude nations. Some of these remains of the deer indicated individuals of a size seldom attained by the species at the present time. Beside one of the skeletons in the grave, and evidently deposited with it, were several bones of the gray rabbit. This renders it not unlikely that the mound-builders used this animal for food,—a point of some interest, as the inhabitants of Europe in the stone age are supposed to have been prevented from eating the hare, by the same superstition that prevailed among the ancient Britons, and is still observed among the Laplanders.

Some of the animal remains in the mound, although well preserved, were in too small fragments to admit of accurate determination. Characteristic specimens, however, were obtained of those in the following list:

Cervus Canadensis, Erlx., (elk).

Cervus Virginianus, Bodd., (common deer).

Ursus Americanus, Pallas, (black bear).

Canis Latrans? Say, (prairie wolf).

Lepus sylvaticus, Bach., (gray rabbit).

Arctomys monax, Gm, (woodchuck).

Unio alatus, Say, (river mussel).

It will be observed that these are all existing species, and, with one or two exceptions, are still living in Ohio—a fact of some importance in its relation to the antiquity of the mounds. The discovery of these remains under such circumstances shows, moreover, that the mound-builders depended, to some extent, at least, on the chase for subsistence. If, however, they were a stationary and agricultural people, as is generally supposed, we should expect to find in the mounds, the remains of domestic, rather than of wild, animals, but none of these have yet been discovered. This may be owing to the fact that comparatively little attention has hitherto been paid to the animal remains, and other objects of natural history found in the mounds, although a careful study of these would undoubtedly throw much light upon the mode of life of the mound-builders.*

The excellent state of preservation of the various skeletons in this mound is remarkable, and has probably never been equalled in the hundreds that have hitherto been examined. The remains of undoubted mound-builders have almost invariably been found so much decayed that it was impossible to recover a single bone entire.† The preservation in this case was doubtless due in part to the excessive compactness of the earth above the remains, but mainly to the fact that the mound stood on an elevation, where moisture could not accumulate. The skeletons in the lower part of the mound were not so well preserved as those higher up, probably because the original soil of the ridge naturally retained more moisture than the earth above it. There may have been, moreover, a considerable interval between the irregular burials and those that followed, and thus some of the skeletons commenced to decay before the mound was completed. The interval, however, could not have been of very long duration, as no perceptible deposit of vegetable matter was formed over the small mound then existing. The same may be said of the intervals between the regular interments, and

* The animal remains found near the Swiss lake habitations, show conclusively that the earliest inhabitants of those settlements were hunters, who subsisted chiefly on wild animals: at a later period, however, during the change to a pastoral state, domestic animals were gradually substituted as an article of food.—*Rüttimayer Fauna der Pfahlbauten der Schweiz*. Basel, 1861.

† Squier and Davis regard this fact as evidence of the great antiquity of the mounds, as in England, where the moist climate is much less favorable for preserving such remains, perfect skeletons of the ancient Britons have been found, although known to have been buried at least 1800 years.—*Smithsonian Contributions*, 1. 168.

also of the subsequent period preceding the final completion of the mound. It should, perhaps, be remarked before proceeding further, that this mound had evidently never been disturbed by the Indians, and that all the human remains and other objects found in it were undoubtedly deposited there by its builders. This will readily be admitted by every one familiar with the subject, as the last interment was at least seven feet below the surface, directly under the apex of the mound, and the white layers—infallible indications of regular burials of the mound-builders—all extended over the grave, and remained undisturbed.*

The skeletons found in this mound were of medium size, somewhat smaller than the average of those of the Indians still living in this country. The bones were certainly not stouter than those of Indians of the same size, although this has been regarded as a characteristic of the remains of the mound-builders. All the skulls in the mound were broken—in one instance apparently before burial—and most of them so much decayed that no attempt was made to preserve them. Two, however, were recovered with the more important parts but little injured. Both were of small size, and showed the vertical occiput, prominent vertex, and large interparietal diameter, so characteristic of crania belonging to the American race. In other respects there was nothing of special interest in their conformation. With a single exception, all the human teeth observed were perfectly sound. The teeth of all the adult skeletons were much worn, those of aged individuals usually to a remarkable degree. The manner in which these were worn away is peculiarly interesting, as it indicates that the mound-builders, like the ancient Egyptians and the Danes of the stone age, did not, in eating, use the incisive teeth for cutting, as modern nations do. This is evident from the fact that the worn incisors are all truncated in the same plane with the coronal surfaces of the molars, showing that the upper front teeth impinge directly on the summits of those below, instead of lapping over them. This peculiarity may be seen in the teeth of Egyptian mummies, as was first pointed out by Cuvier.

All the bones in this mound, animal as well as human, were very light, and many of them exceedingly brittle. They adhere strongly to the tongue, but application of hydrochloric acid shows that they still retain a considerable portion of the cartilage. Some of the more fragile bones, which showed a tendency to crumble on exposure to the air, were readily preserved by immersing

them in spermaceti melted in boiling water, a new method, used by Professor Lartet and other French paleontologists, and admirably adapted to such a purpose.

There are several points connected with this mound which deserve especial notice, as they appear to throw some additional light upon the customs of the mound-builders, particularly, their modes of burial and funeral ceremonies. One of the most remarkable features in the mound was the large number of skeletons it contained. With one or two exceptions, none of the burial-mounds hitherto examined have contained more than a single skeleton which unquestionably belonged to the mound-builders, while in this instance parts of at least seventeen were exhumed. The number of small children represented among these remains is also worthy of notice, as it indicates for this particular case a rate of infant mortality (about thirty-three per cent) which is much higher than some have supposed ever existed among rude nations. Another point of special interest in this mound is the evidence it affords that the regular method of burial among the mound-builders was sometimes omitted, and the remains interred in a hurried and careless manner. This was the case with eleven skeletons exhumed in the course of our explorations, a remarkable fact, which appears to be without a precedent in the experience of previous investigators. It should be mentioned in this connection that nearly all of these remains were those of women and children. Their hurried and careless burial might seem to indicate a want of respect on the part of their surviving friends, were there not ample evidence to prove that reverence for the dead was a prominent characteristic of the mound-builders. It is not unlikely that in this instance some unusual cause, such as pestilence or war, may have made a hasty interment necessary. The various implements and remains of animals found with these skeletons also deserve notice, as they far exceed in number and variety any hitherto discovered in a single mound. They prove, moreover, that, if in this instance the rites of regular burial were denied the departed, their supposed future wants were amply provided for. The contents of one part of the cist (which is itself a very unusual accompaniment of a mound) appears to indicate that the remains of those who died at a distance from home were collected for burial, sometimes long after death. The interesting discovery of weapons, which were found with these detached bones, would seem to imply that in this case the remains and weapons of a hunter or warrior of distinction, recovered after long exposure, had been buried together.*

* It is well known that the modern Indians occasionally buried their dead in the mounds, but invariably near the surface; the position of such remains, and especially the manner of their interment, clearly distinguished them from the original deposits of the mound-builders.

* A similar custom still prevails among some tribes of western Indians.

The last three interments in this mound were performed with great care, as already stated, and in strict accordance with the usual custom of the mound-builders. The only point of particular interest in regard to them is the connection which appears to exist between some of the skeletons and the charred human bones found above them. Similar deposits of partially burned bones, supposed to be human, have in one or two instances been observed on the altars of sacrificial mounds, and occasionally in mounds devoted to sepulture, but their connection with the human remains buried in the latter, if indeed any existed, appears to have been overlooked. Our explorations, which were very carefully and systematically conducted, clearly demonstrated that in these instances the incineration had taken place directly over the tomb, and evidently before the regular interment was completed: taking these facts in connection with what the researches of other investigators have made known concerning the superstitious rites of this mysterious people, it seems natural to conclude that in each of these cases a human victim was sacrificed as part of the funeral ceremonies, doubtless as a special tribute of respect to a person of distinction.

All the skeletons in this mound, except one, appeared to have been buried in a horizontal position with the face upwards. The exception was the skeleton of the aged female found in the grave, which lay on its side; but this may have been owing to the fact that the body had been bent together, perhaps in consequence of age. The skeletons which had received a regular interment all had their heads toward the east, but no such definite position has been noticed in the remains found in other mounds. As the grave had the same direction, this can hardly have been unintentional, although it may have been determined by the position of the ridge on which the mound stood. The layer of charcoal, not unfrequently found in sepulchral mounds, was wanting in this instance, as was also the evidence, usually afforded by the same substance, that the fire, which consumed the human remains, had been suddenly extinguished by a covering of earth. Possibly the former, as well as other objects of interest, were contained in the outer portion of the mound, which was not examined, although usually everything deposited by the mound-builders was placed near the center; and hence our explorations were chiefly confined to that part.

Such is a brief and incomplete description of one of the ancient mounds of the West, of which at least ten thousand are known to exist in the single State of Ohio, and countless numbers elsewhere in the valleys of the Mississippi and its tributaries. These structures are the only remaining memorials of a race whose history has been buried with them, and from these alone can we

hope to learn who this people were and whence they came. The Indians of this country, although retaining no tradition of this more ancient population, regarded their works with great veneration; but the present possessors of the soil have, in general, little of this feeling, and hence hundreds of these monuments of the past are annually swept away by the plow, and their contents irretrievably lost. A few pioneers in American archeology have, indeed, rescued much that is valuable, but the work is hardly commenced; and a careful and systematic investigation of these various monuments would not only add greatly to our knowledge of this interesting people, but doubtless also help to solve the question of the antiquity of man on this continent, and, perhaps, that more important one of the unity of the human race.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., Feb. 1866.

XVI.—SONG OF McDONOUGH.

[The following Song was written by N. H. WRIGHT* soon after McDonough's victory on Champlain. It is too good to be lost, and having the only copy I have seen in more than forty years, I transcribe it for you.

Vermont Record.

T.]

The banner of freedom triumphantly waving,
Displayed in bright colors the stripe and the star,
While the light-curling billows the war ships were laving
And the foeman was seen on the water afar.

In his bosom the heart of each freeman beat high,
He thought of his country, his love and his honor;
And he swore by the blood of his fathers to die,
Or conquer and share in the fame of McDonough.

And now the dire conflict with fury was raging,
And many an Hero lay panting for breath;
Whilst the genius of war forbade pity assuaging
The pains which could only be ended by death.

Yet no pang pierced the hearts of those freemen
so brave,
For they knew they had fallen in glory and honor;
And their last parting sigh as it fled o'er the wave,
Was a prayer for their country, their friends,
and McDonough.

Mid the blaze of the battle their spirits ascended,
And hovered aloft till the thunders were o'er,
Then to regions of glory, by angels attended,
The tidings of victory triumphantly bore.

* A native of Cornwall, Vt., and author of a poetic volume the *Fall of Palmyra*, a work now exceedingly rare. It was published at Middlebury, in 1817.

The banner of England was lowered from its height—

That flag that was wont to have floated in honor ;

While the stripes and the stars beam'd more brilliantly bright

As they gracefully way'd o'er the head of McDonough.

For the brows of the brave let the fair hand of beauty

The laurel of victory and honor entwine ;

And the heroes whose ardor kept pace with their duty,

Like the stars in a bright constellation shall shine.

Their country shall cherish their glory and fame,

Their deeds be enrolled on the records of honor :

And mem'ry shall cherish with fondness the name

Of each warrior who fought by the side of McDonough.

XVII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them "the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. Hist. Mag.]

RED RIVER TERRITORY—ITS RESOURCES AND CAPABILITIES.—The first attempt to found a colony in that part of Rupert's Land now occupied by the Red River Settlements, was made in the year 1812, under the patronage of Lord Selkirk. In giving a brief sketch of the early history of the settlement, we cannot do better than give a curtailed quotation from the *Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Red River Settlement*, by the late Alexander Ross, published in London, 1856, whose long and intimate connection with the country gave him ample opportunity for collecting reliable information. He says: "The colonists consisted of several Scotch families, 'who after they had reached the spot which was 'to be their future home, they were met by a large 'party of half-breeds and Indians, in the service 'of the North West Company, and warned not to 'attempt to establish a permanent settlement. 'They were conducted by a number of those wild 'and reckless children of the prairie to Fort 'Pembina, a post of the Hudson Bay Company, 'where they passed the winter in buffalo skin 'tents, and soon adopted the habits of life belonging to the savage and half savage natives 'by whom they were surrounded.

"In May, 1812, the emigrants returned to the 'neighborhood of Fort Douglas, about two miles 'below the present site of Fort Garry, and here

"commenced their agricultural labors. In the 'fall of the year they again sought refuge at Fort 'Pembina, and after a winter of much suffering, 'revisited in the spring of 1814, the scene of the 'previous year's attempt to plant themselves on 'the banks of Red River, with a determination to 'make it a permanent residence. His Lordship had 'established a general store of goods, implements, 'ammunition, clothing and food, at Fort Douglas, 'from which the impoverished emigrants were 'supplied on credit. In July, 1818, several French 'Canadian families, under the guidance of two 'Priests, arrived in the Colony. In 1820, the 'foundation of a Roman Catholic Church was laid 'near the present site of the Cathedral of St. Boniface; and in the fall of that year, a minister of 'the Church of England visited that country, encouraged by the Church Missionary Society. In '1821, the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies united, and from that time the condition 'and prospects of the Red River Settlement became more encouraging and their progress slow 'but sure. In 1823, the population of the Colony 'was about six hundred; twenty years afterwards 'it had increased to five thousand, one hundred, 'and forty-three, and thus assumed an important, 'though not a prominent, position among Christian communities, in the midst of barbarous and 'savage races."

It is now well known that, Northwest of Minnesota, the country reaching from the Selkirk Settlement to the Rocky Mountains, and from latitude forty-nine degrees to fifty-four degrees, is as favorable to grain and animal productions as any of the Northern States; that the mean temperature for spring, summer, and autumn observed in the forty-second and forty-third parallels, in New York, Michigan and Wisconsin, has been accurately traced through Fort Snelling and the valley of the Saskatchewan to latitude fifty-five degrees on the Pacific coast. Of the present community of the Settlement, numbering over ten thousand, about five thousand are competent to assume any civil or social responsibility which may be imposed upon them. The accumulations from the fur trade during fifty years, with few excitements or opportunities of expenditure, have secured general prosperity, with frequent instances of affluence; while the numerous churches and schools sustain a high standard of morality and intelligence. The present agriculture of the Settlement confirms the evidence from a variety of sources, to which we shall afterwards refer, that the districts west and north-west of the Red River valley are well adapted to settlement. For the production of wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, potatoes, vegetables, etc., the region in question will be unsurpassed by any other area of similar extent on the continent, and capable, it is estimated, of feeding forty millions of people. A writer elo-

quently remarks:—"Are these innumerable fields of hay for ever destined to be consumed by fire or perish in the autumnal snows? How long shall these superb forests be the haunts of wild beasts? And these inexhaustible quarries,—these abundant mines of coal, gold, silver, lead, sulphur, iron, copper, salt and saltpetre,—can it be that they are doomed to remain for ever inactive? Not so: the day will come when some laboring hand will give them value; a strong, active and enterprising people are destined to fill this void. The wild beasts will, ere long, give place to our domestic animals; flocks and herds will graze in the beautiful meadows that border the numberless mountains, hills, valleys and plains, of this extensive region."

There are three religious denominations here, which are divided as follows:

FAMILIES AND CHURCHES.

Roman Catholics,	554 families,	3 Churches,
Episcopalian,	383	" 4 "
Presbyterian,	60	" 2 "

exclusive of the settlement of Prairie Portage and the Indian Missionary village. Education is in a far more advanced state in the Colony than its isolation and brief career might claim for it under the peculiar circumstances in which the country has been so long placed. There are seventeen schools in the settlement, generally under the supervision of the ministers of the denomination to which they belong. One of the Episcopalian clergymen remarks, "On the ground of education let none fear to make trial of the country. The parochial school connected with my own chapel is equal to most parochial schools which I have known in England, in range of subjects superior to most, though in method and the apparatus of the school necessarily a little inferior."

At present there is a great want of good tradesmen in the settlement, especially blacksmiths, carpenters and masons; also a good tanner, and one or two boot and shoemakers, and a tailor, would also do well to save the importation of this bulky and necessary article. There are among the principal merchants several who would no doubt be glad to assist in giving a start to such tradesmen coming to settle among us. Our next article will commence with our resources and their means of development, beginning with Agricultural Industry.—*Nor'-wester*.

the site of an ancient and populous town, yet such is supposed to be the fact. Some of the most interesting antiquities of our State are found along the lower course of Stone River, but a few miles from Nashville. A wide area of country there is covered thickly with thousands of graves of a now forgotten people.

But a few days ago several gentlemen made some researches in this region and found their labors richly rewarded by some striking discoveries. At a place known as Schell's Spring they found a mound of considerable height and perhaps forty feet in diameter, which proved upon examination to be nothing less than a vast mausoleum of the dead. The graves were found to be made of flat rocks, symmetrically joined together, and three tiers deep from the base of the mound to its apex. Bones were found in a remarkable state of preservation, together with pottery and shells. Very large ornaments have been dug out in this locality, made from shells found only in the Gulf of Mexico.

A gentleman of acknowledged skill and authority in antiquarian matters who conducted the researches made a few days ago, estimated that the remains which they unearthed could not have less age than six or seven hundred years. What is remarkable, no warlike implements are found in this locality, from which it is inferred that they were a peaceable race, and were probably exterminated or driven away by the Indians. In one of the graves was found a beautiful little vase, which had been placed in the hand of the inmate at the time of the burial. Upon this little bit of earthenware was the model of a diminutive animal. The care which these people took of their dead shows a high degree of humanity. We learn that other investigations in this section are to be made ere long. The field is certainly a rich one for the antiquarian.—*Nashville (Tenn.) Press and Times*.

CAPTAIN WADDELL AND HIS SLANDERER.—Our readers will remember that in an article published several weeks since we reviewed a work purporting to be a history of the cruise of the Confederate steamer *Shenandoah* written by one Cornelius E. Hunt, who claimed to have been an officer of the ship. In our previous notice of the book we asked a suspension of judgment by the public as to the charges against the Commander of the *Shenandoah* contained therein, until we could gather the facts necessary to a complete refutation of the slanders promulgated against one of the noblest sons of the South. We have not yet received, though expecting daily, the reply of Captain Waddell to the miserable libel upon his character as an officer and a gentleman; but Dr. McNulty, a fellow officer with Captain Waddell,

REMARKABLE DISCOVERIES — RESEARCHES AMONG THE BONES OF DEAD CENTURIES.—It may not be generally known that the ground on which the City of Nashville now stands was once

on the *Shenandoah*, writes us from Paris the following communication with regard to Hunt's book. It may be necessary, to a full understanding of its purport, to say that it is thought that from the Doctor's manuscript alluded to below, Hunt obtained the data for that portion of his narrative referring to the ship's cruise, captures, &c. :

PARIS, May 4, 1867.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PETERSBURG INDEX :

SIR.—Having seen several extracts from a book recently published in the United States, of which Cornelius E. Hunt—lately an Acting Master's mate on board the Confederate States ship *Shenandoah*—claims to be the author, I consider that, in justice to myself (having written a history of the cruise of the *Shenandoah*, the manuscript of which I have either lost or had purloined from me,) I am bound to disclaim any connection with the book entitled *The Cruise of the Shenandoah, or the Last Confederate Cruiser*. I am forced thus to obtrude my name upon the public, in consequence of it having been surmised by several of Captain Waddell's professed friends that I was the real author of Mr. Hunt's book.

From the extracts before me, I do not hesitate to assert that none of the language contained therein was written by me; and if Mr. Hunt obtained possession of my manuscript, he did so without my knowledge or consent, and has had the language altered to gratify his malice in publishing the grossest falsehoods in regard to his late commander.

On page 223 of Mr. Hunt's book, it is stated that when we received intelligence of the defeat of our cause from the Captain of the English barque *Barracouta*, Captain Waddell, in an address to the crew, promised "to run the *Shenandoah* into Sidney, and then without their cognizance steered for another and more distant port." Captain Waddell never made any such promise to the crew. Of this I am positive, as I was an attentive listener to every word that Captain Waddell uttered on that occasion.

It is stated in Mr. Hunt's book that the reasons why Captain Waddell deceived his crew, in promising to run for Sidney, and soon after altering the course of the ship, was for the purpose "of securing a considerable sum of money which he (Captain Waddell) knew to be lodged in the hands of one of our secret agents at Liverpool." How was the Captain to know of such a deposit, when he had no means of receiving any communication from Liverpool for thirteen months? The absurdity of such a statement will readily be perceived.

On page 229, it is stated that a petition was signed by all the officers, with the exception of five, of which five Mr. Hunt claims to have been

one. Mr. Hunt is well aware that such is not the fact. Not being a commissioned officer, he was not called upon at any time for his opinion.

In regard to the allusion, on page 232, to extracts from a private letter which was published in some of the American newspapers, in which Captain Waddell is represented as denouncing all his officers, without discrimination, I, as one of the five who supported the Captain in his determination to proceed to Liverpool, and who naturally felt aggrieved at such wholesale denunciation, was perfectly satisfied after hearing his explanation. The letter was addressed to a friend in the United States; and he, without the knowledge, and much to the surprise, of the Captain, submitted it to the Editor of a newspaper, who by typographical distortion so rendered the language of it as to seriously reflect upon the character of all the officers of the ship. The letter, if published as sent by Captain Waddell, could not have given offence to any of the officers.

Mr. Hunt charges Captain Waddell, on page 261, with dishonesty, in having appropriated to himself funds set apart for the payment of the officers and crew. Mr. Hunt received, over and above what was due him upon the ship's books, fifty pounds sterling, as did each of the other steerage officers. I have heard him acknowledge this fact, both in Liverpool and London.

There are many other misrepresentations in Mr. Hunt's book, which, after the statement above, it is needless to notice.

Respectfully, &c.,

FRED. J. McNULTY, M.D.

Late Act'g Ass't Surgeon,
C. S. S. *Shenandoah*.

[*Petersburg (Va.) Index.*]

HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO OLD CANADA.—In looking over an old map entitled the English Empire in North America, published in 1755, Canada, then belonging to the French, was bounded on the West by the River Outaouais (Ottawa), on the East by the River Bustard (Ottard), near the present Manicouagon Point, about forty miles westward of Point des Monts, on the North by the Hudson Bay Company's territory, and on the South by the river St. Lawrence. The country west, till lately Upper Canada, now by the Act of Confederation, Ontario, was then called Northern Iroquois, and inhabited by Indians bearing that name, and extended to the present Samia. From thence westward to the river Mississippi, the country now comprising Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, &c., was chiefly inhabited by the Outagamis, Mascoutens, and the Sioux or Nadonessian Indians. Here and there scattered over these large tracts of country, from the Ottawa to the Mississippi, were a few French Forts and settlements.

Now look at the present map of the Dominion of Canada, from the Strait of Canso, N. S., to the Straits of St. Clair, having its Parliament buildings at Ottawa (worthy in point of architecture for any country) a place not then in existence.

Go a step further back, to 1659, when the Royal Government in Canada was first established, and Mgr. de Laval arrived as Vicar-Apostolic of the See of Rome, and afterwards, in 1674, was named first Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec. Again in 1672, when De Courville obtained permission from the Iroquois to erect a trading fort at Cataragui (Kingston). Let our imaginations picture the state and condition of Canada then, continually at war with the Iroquois Indians, and conjure up its march of civilization under the French rule, till 1760, when Canada was solemnly transferred to the British Crown. In one hundred years we have, by means of the Victoria Bridge, made an uninterrupted line of railway, from Sarnia to the Atlantic, and along its length there have arisen flourishing towns and cities, where there was then nothing but the primeval forest. We have history since 1760, showing forth our valor and unity in the defence of our country. Instance our war medal bearing on its clasps, "Detroit," "Fort Erie," "Chateauguay," &c., &c. The population of Upper and Lower Canada, has increased from about one hundred thousand (less than the present inhabitants of Montreal) to more than three millions or an increase of thirty-fold. Our commerce has increased in a great proportion, the revenue amounting to twelve millions of dollars. It palls the imagination to conjure what we shall be in another fifty or a hundred years under a prosperous, peaceful and united Confederation.—*Montreal News*.

"THIRTY YEARS AGO" IN CANADA.—Mr. Hector Fabre states that thirty years ago, when Parliament sat during the summer, the gulf members came up to Quebec in schooners, and lodged in them all through the session. He also says that at about the same period a *traineau*, loaded with trunks and parcels, arrived at the Parliament House, one fine day, just previous to the opening of the session, and from it descended a stout countryman and his wife, who carefully examined the twenty-four windows of the building, and finally decided to rap at the door, which was immediately opened by one of the messengers. The countryman thereupon presented his compliments, stated that he was the member elect for the County of Berthier; that he had come with his wife to take his seat; and that he had brought his winter's provisions with him. He was consequently fully provided, but only wanted a cooking stove, and hoped there was one in his room. The messenger immediately saw through the primitive simplicity of his visitor, and gradually "drew him" out.

He ascertained that the member for Berthier expected to find a room already prepared for him in the Parliament House, in which he and his wife could live throughout the winter, and subsist on the provisions he had brought from his native village. The messenger grinned, you may be certain, and was finally forced to avow that there were no bedrooms in the Parliament House for members. "The member for Berthier" thereupon gave his horse a smart lash with the whip and indignantly and forever turned his back upon the legislative halls of the Province.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1760 IN CANADA.—Under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the *Gazette* of that city published recently, the first part of an interesting sketch of this campaign. The following introduction to the paper, from the pen of Mr. Lemoine, fully explains its character, and will be perused with pleasure by historical readers:—

"The original of this manuscript is deposited in the French war archives, in Paris: a copy was, with the leave of the French Government, taken by P. L. Morin, Esq., Draughtsman to the Crown Lands Department of Canada, about 1855, and deposited in the Legislative Assembly of Canada. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, through the kindness of Mr. Todd, the Librarian, was permitted to have communication thereof. This document is supposed to have been written some years after the return to France from Canada of the writer, the Chevalier Johnstone, a Scotch Jacobite, who had fled to France after the defeat at Culloden, and had obtained from the French monarch, with several other Scotchmen, commissions in the French armies. In 1748, says *Francisque Michel*, he sailed from Rochefort as an Ensign with troops going to Cape Breton: he continued to serve in America until he returned to France, in December, 1760, having acted during the campaign of 1759, in Canada, as aide-de-camp to Chevalier De Levis. On De Levis being ordered to Montreal, Johnstone was detached and retained by General Montcalm on his staff, on account of his thorough knowledge of the environs of Quebec, and particularly of Beauport, where the principal works of defence stood, and where the whole army, some eleven thousand men, were entrenched, leaving in Quebec, merely a garrison of one thousand, five hundred. The journal is written in English, and is not remarkable for orthography or purity of diction: either Johnstone had forgotten, or had never thoroughly known, the language. The style is prolix, sententious, abounding in quotations from writers;—one would be inclined to think at times, that it had originally been written in

"French, and then literally translated into English."

"This document had first attracted the attention of one of the late historians of Canada, the Abbe Ferland, who attached much importance to it, as calculated to supply matters of details and incidents unrecorded elsewhere. Mr. Margry in charge of the French records, had permitted the venerable writer, then on a visit to Paris, to make extracts from it; some of which extracts the Abbe published at the time of the laying of the St. Foy Monument, in 1862. The Chevalier Johnstone differs, *in toto*, from the opinions expressed by several French officers of regulars, respecting the conduct of the Canadian Militia, in 1759, ascribing to their valour on the thirteenth of September, the salvation of a large portion of the French army."

XVIII.—NOTES.

TOM PAINE.—A recent publication in England says that this notorious person was an officer of excise at Lewes, in Sussex, where he resided with a tobacconist named Olive; that, after the decease of the latter, he succeeded him in business and soon after was married to his only daughter; that, in 1774, Paine was dismissed from office and, soon after, his goods were sold to pay his debts, his wife was separated from him, and he left for America.

We learn also that the deed of separation from his wife was signed "PAIN"—without the final E, as we are accustomed to see it;—that his wife subsequently lived with her brother, Thomas Olive, silversmith, Cranbrook, in the Weald of Kent, where she died in 1808, and was buried by his side, opposite the western door of the parish church, a stone marking the spot at the present day.

HACKENSACK, N. J.

DAY.

COOKHOUSE.—Few would suspect this to be an Indian name. It is a locality laid down in De Witt's *Map of the State of New York*, 1802, and is opposite Deposit, on the Erie Railroad, and in the town of Tompkins, Delaware County. Peter Helm, who "spoke the Indian language from "being a boy," stated in an affidavit, on the fifteenth of September, 1785, in the controversy respecting the Great Hardenburgh Patent, "that the West branch of the Delaware river was called *Cookhurse Hacka Sepus*, that *Cookhurse* "is in English, an owl; *Hacka*, land; and *Sepus* a river; and means in English, 'Owl Land River.'"—*Land Papers, Sec's Office, Albany*, xl. 128.

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

COOKQUAGO.—This is the Iroquois name for the west branch of the Delaware river, and has the same meaning as the above, being derived from the Onondaga word, *Kekoa*, an Owl, which in Mohawk is *Ohosa*.

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

THE GULF OF MAINE.—The deep bay comprised within Cape Sable and Cape Cod was first designated the "Gulf or Bay of Maine" by the projectors of the European and North American Railway Company, in 1850. The name has since been recognised by the Coast Survey, and is so given on a recent chart from that office.

BELFAST, Maine.

J. W.

AN ANCIENT BUTTON.—The Brunswick (Maine) *Telegraph* says that a metal button was recently ploughed up in that town bearing the inscription, "*Massachusetts Artillery*," in a circle round the rim. There is a very excellent representation of a gun with its rammer and sponger attached; and to the rear of the piece, stands the British flag. Upon the reverse of the button, is the inscription—"Gilt, London." It may have belonged to one of the soldiers of Major Church, who in 1690, at the head of three hundred men made an expedition from Massachusetts against the Eastern Indians, and destroyed a fort on the spot where Brunswick is situated.

BELFAST, Maine.

J. W.

INTERESTING AUTOGRAPH LETTERS OF JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Elliot Danforth, of Middleburgh, New York, recently found in his antiquarian researches, the following autograph letters of Jefferson and Adams, among the papers and documents of Isaac Hall Tiffany, Esq., deceased, who was a student of Aaron Burr, and a man of considerable learning. The letters were addressed to Mr. Tiffany while residing at what was then called Schoharie Bridge.

"MONTICELLO, April 4, 1819.

"SIR:—After thanking you for your comprehensive tabular chart of the governments of the United States, I must give you the answer which I am obliged to give to all who propose to me to replunge myself into political speculations, '*Senex sum, et levissimis curis impar*.' I abandon politics, and accomodate myself cheerfully to things as they go, confident in the wisdom of those who direct them, and that they will be better and better directed in the progressive course of knowledge and experience. Our successors start on our shoulders. They know all that we know, and will add to

"that stock the discoveries of the next fifty years; and what will be their amount we may estimate from what the last fifty years have added to the science of human concerns. The thoughts of others, as I find them on paper, are my amusement and delight; but the labors of the mind in abstruse investigations are irksome and writing itself is become a slow and painful operation, occasioned by a stiffened wrist, the consequence of a former dislocation. I will however, essay the two definitions which you say are more particularly interesting at present: I mean those of the terms Liberty and Republic, aware, however, that they have been so multifariously applied as to convey no precise idea to the mind.

"Of Liberty, then, I would say, that in the whole plenitude of its extent, it is unobstructed action according to our will; but rightful liberty is unobstructed action according to our will within the limits drawn around us by the equal rights of others. I do not add 'within the limits of the law,' because law is often but the tyrant's will, and always so when it violates the rights of an individual.

"I will add, secondly, that a pure Republic is a state of society in which every member of mature and sound mind, has an equal right of participation, personally, in the direction of the affairs of the Society. Such a regimen is obviously impracticable beyond the limits of an encampment, or of a very small village. When numbers, distance, or force, oblige them to act by deputy, then their government continues republican in proportion only as the functions they still exercise in person are more or fewer, and as in those exercised by deputy the right of appointing their deputy is *pro hac vice* only, or for more or fewer purposes, or for shorter or longer terms.

"If by the word *Government* you mean a classification of its forms, I must refer you for the soundest which has ever been given, to Tracy's *Review of Montesquieu*, the ablest political work which the last century of years has given us. It was translated from the original MS., and published by Duane, a few years ago, and is since published in the original French at Paris. With my thanks for your chart accept the assurance of my great respect.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

"QUINCY, April 30th, 1819.

"DEAR SIR:—Of Republics the varieties are infinite, or at least as numerous as the tunes and changes that can be rung upon a complete set of bells. Of all the varieties, a Democracy is the most national, the most ancient, and the most fundamental and essential of all others. In some writing or other of mine I happened, '*conventecalome*,' to drop the phrase. 'The word

'Republic, as it is used, may signify anything, 'everything, or nothing.' For this escape I have been pelted for the last twenty or thirty years with as many stones as ever were thrown at St. Stephen when St. Paul held the clothes of the stoners; but the aphorism is literal, strict, solemn truth, to speak technically, or scientifically, if you will.

"There are Monarchical, Aristocratical, and Democratical Republics. The Government of Great Britain and that of Poland are as strictly Republics as that of Rhode Island, or Connecticut, under their old Charters. If mankind have a right to the voice of experience, they ought to furnish that experience with pen, ink, and paper to write it, and an amanuensis to copy it.

"I should have been extremely obliged to you if you had favored me with Mr. Jefferson's sentiments upon the subject. As I see you have an inquiring mind, I sincerely wish you much pleasure, profit, and success in your investigations. I have had some pleasure in them; but no profit, and very little, if any, success.

"In some of your letters you say that my *Defence* has become rare. This is strange. Mr. Dilly published an edition of it in London; an edition of it was published in Boston; another in New York; another in Philadelphia, before the adoption of the present Constitution of the National Government, and before one line of the *Federalist* was printed. Since that, Mr. Cobbet, alias Porcupine, printed a large edition of the whole work in Philadelphia, and Mr. Stackdale of Piccadilly, has published another large edition in London. It has been translated into the French and German languages; and what has become of all these copies?

"I am, Sir, with much esteem, your humble servant,

"JOHN ADAMS."

XIX.—QUERIES.

THE AZTECS.—Can any of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me, through its columns, where I may learn something of this ancient people? Also where I may learn something of the two Aztec children who were in New York, a few years since.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

DICK.

COLUMBUS AND THE EGG.—What authority is there for the old story of Columbus making the egg stand on one of its ends?

Where did Columbus die?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

WAAL BOGT.

JUNIUS.—In a letter from London, dated May 12, 1863, Mr. Thurlow Weed promised that "before the present year expires, all doubt or question as to the authorship of the JUNIUS letters will be removed." Allow me to enquire, in view of the promised disclosure of a long kept secret, who was JUNIUS? S. A. S.

ITHACA, N. Y.

XX.—REPLIES.

METHODIST HYMN BOOK.—(H. M. I. i. 42) "A CLASSLEADER" is respectfully informed that Coke and Asbury's hymn-book was entitled *A Pocket Companion; designed as a companion to the Pious*; but when it was first printed is unknown to me. The twenty-first edition was issued in 1797.

DICK.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

FIRST-BORN IN NEW NETHERLAND.—(H. M. I. i. 42). The first-born white male in this region was JAN VINGE (*Collections of Long Island Historical Society*, i. 114); the first-born white female was Sarah, daughter of George Rapelje and wife of Hans Hansen, a Norwegian carpenter, (*Dutch Manuscripts*—Secretary of State's Office—vi. 353.)

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

WAAL BOGT.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, (H. M. I. i. 42). Doctor Shurtleff was evidently in error in the instances referred to by T. Mr. Hutchinson was not "banished" from Massachusetts, if I read history correctly, but removed to Rhode Island *voluntarily*, and was there an *Assistant*, not the Governor of that Colony.

FRANCISCO.

NEWPORT, R.I.

XXI.—BOOKS.

1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Speeches, Correspondence, etc., of the late Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York*. Including: Addresses on important public topics; Speeches in the State and United States Senate, and in support of the Government during the Rebellion; Correspondence, private and political, (collected and arranged by Mrs. Dickinson) Poems (collected and arranged by Mrs. Mygatt), etc. Edited with a Biography, by his brother, John R. Dickinson. In two volumes. New York: George P. Putnam & Son. 1867. Octavo, Pp. xi. 743; xvi. 719. Price \$10.

Daniel S. Dickenson was a well-known politician of this State, although a native of Connecticut. The son of a plain, working farmer, he was carried by his parents, when he was only six years old, to Chenango County, in this State—then a new country—and there he worked on the farm, and picked up a scanty fund of informa-

tion, which was added to, as he had opportunity, by subsequent reading.

He was not, by any means, even a well-read scholar on any branch of knowledge, at any period of his life; and but for his remarkable memory, which enabled him to command at will everything which he had garnered in his not over-burdened mind, his brother would have been spared the effort which, beyond the limits of propriety, on page 2 of the first volume, he has made to invest him with thoroughness of scholarship.

He learned the trade of a cloth-dresser, taught school, became a practical country land-surveyor, and studied law. He was a country politician from early life; and, as a reward for his fidelity, he became a country Postmaster. As a showy, but superficial, country lawyer, he gradually acquired a standing in the little country village, and among the country politicians, which, in the city he could never have secured; and his advent at Binghamton, thirty-six years ago, when Binghamton was not what it now is, was only an extension of the area of his arena and an increase of the number rather than an improvement of the quality of his auditors.

He was a lawyer, but not such an one as Ben Johnson or Charles Spencer, of Ithaca, Charles P. Kirkland, of Utica, or John A. Collier of Binghamton was; and he was indebted for his success more to the readiness of his resources, the glitter of his quotations from the Bible or the poets, and his perfect self-control, than to the quality of his argument, the authorities in law which he cited, or the dignified consciousness of his manner, which indicated his own respect for the Truth.

He was sent to the Senate, where he was known as a most faithful and unyielding partizan; and his aspirations for still higher rank were gratified in 1840, by a nomination for Lieutenant-governor, and chilled by a disastrous defeat. He was more successful in 1842; and in 1844, he was sent to the Federal Senate, by Governor Bouck.

He was one of the most ultra of the "Hunkers," during the great contest for freedom in the territories; and in every stage of the conflict of parties, he was found among the most violent of those who, concurring with the Southern sentiment, hoped by the assistance of that potential political power, to rise still further into office. Nothing was too extreme to receive his earnest support—if the South approved it;—and, although he appeared to reject the Presidency in 1852, when General Pierce received it, it is not quite certain that the Editor of this work with the greatest propriety has said all about it that he could have said.

He subsequently engaged in his profession with great diligence; and his practice was extensive and profitable.

When the South attempted to dissolve the Federal Union, Mr. Dickinson abandoned his loudly-proclaimed principles, his well-known and well-understood candidate for the Presidency, and those who had most earnestly maintained the doctrines of his creed and on whom he had never failed to depend for support; and he threw himself bodily into the hands of those whom, before, he had most earnestly resisted. As a reward for this change of base, he was made Attorney-general of the State; and, subsequently District Attorney of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

The volumes before us are filled, as will be seen by the title, with *every thing*, regardless of quality, which does not bear testimony against Mr. Dickinson—even unimportant remarks on the presentation of a watch to a railway superintendent, and those which were introductory of Edward Everett to a Binghampton auditory, are thrust among his "Speeches;" and letters to his wife and children, and family connections, possessing no earthly interest outside the family circle into which they were cast, serve to swell the covers of the work.

There has been no good judgment whatever exercised in preparing these volumes for the press; and what was never great has been made to appear still more insignificant by the parade in print of hundreds of pages of matter which, as it would have brought no credit to any intelligent adult in the country, ought to have remained, undisturbed, in the hands of those who had received them.

The volumes are neatly printed; and the first volume is illustrated with a shabby *photograph* of the deceased Senator.

2.—*Annual Report of the Metropolitan Board of Health.* 1866. Albany: Van Benthuysen & Sons, 1867. Octavo. pp. 800.

In this extended Report, the new Board of Health lays before the public its proceedings during the year 1866, as far as the public is supposed to have anything to do with them; and in an Appendix, it publishes a mass of statistics which are important principally to students of medicine.

We suppose all these are useful, although, to us, they possess no other interest than that which attaches to them as portions of the material relating to the History of the City of New York. As such they are very important to every collector of works concerning the City.

3.—*Memorial on Personal Representation*, addressed to the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York, by the Personal Representation Society. New York: A. Simpson & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 9.

"The right of Minorities" are often heard of, in theory, but never recognized in practise; and we have many doubts if any minority of the

body politic has any *right* to a voice in the expression of "the major will."

If the individual, when he becomes a member of a body politic, becomes subject for all the purposes of that body, to the expressed will of the majority of its membership, he possesses no such Right of special Representation in the councils of the Body, as this pamphlet seems to assume; and as we are decidedly of the opinion that no portion of the actually delegated authority with which the State is clothed by such of its members, can at the same time be reserved to the Constituent, for his *individual* employment, we are unable to find the remotest reason for the claim which is here set up of a *Right* in the minority to "*Personal Representation*."

4.—*Reform in Railroad Management, by securing Equal Rights and Cheap Transportation.* Statement of the views and objects of the National Anti-Monopoly, Cheap, Freight Railway League: New York, 1867. Octavo. pp. 24.

The object of this League—of which our valued friend, Henry O'Rielly, Esq., is the General Secretary—is for the purpose of diminishing the cost of travel and transportation by Railroad, and it proposes to do this by the construction of a grand Trunk road which "shall be open to "free Competition for all persons, Companies, "or other corporations who may desire to put "passenger, mail, or freight trains thereon, or "to engage in transporting on or over said railroad "way and branches;" the speed to be "moderate and uniform;" and the Company owning the road-way to be paid for their use of its rails by those who shall travel or carry freight over them.

We see no objection to such a system; and if it can afford cheaper provisions than we now enjoy, it is to be hoped that the effort will be successful.

5.—*The Curate's Discipline.* A Novel. By Mrs. Elloart New York: Harper & Bros. 1867. Octavo, pp. 159. Price 50c.

This is No. 298 of the widely-circulated *Library of Select Novels*, which the Harpers have gathered from the various fields of fiction, and the neatness of style in which it is dressed, and its cheapness, will undoubtedly command for it an extended circulation.

6.—*Unification of North America.* A Law, a Business, a Duty. A plan of Continental Construction, presented through George Batchelor, Citizen of Unitized America. N. Y., January 1, 1867. Small octavo, pp. 16.

The author of this tract is a Professor of French, in "the Free Evening High School," in New York, and an associate with Mr. Andrews in the authorship of some text-books of the French

language. He is, also, if we may credit this tract, a volunteer "re-constructor" of nations which need no re-construction and have asked for none of his advice, much less of his assistance, in such a work.

It is a Frenchman's plea for a consolidation of all the territories within North America, into one confederacy; and although it is urged with a great variety of words—some of which are not often seen outside of a dictionary—and with as ornate a display of ideas, many of which would have been ridiculed a twelvemonth since, we are not prepared to deny that Mr. Batchelor is a more accurate observer, a more influential adviser of the Government of the United States, than some others whom we know.

Thus, last January, he advised the purchase of *Russian America*, and it has been done: he advised the acceptance of *British Columbia* as a compensation for depredations on our commerce, and it is said to have been proposed by Mr. Seward: he "guessed" that Denmark would "gladly exchange Danish America for dollars and cents"; and who does not know how truly he thus "guessed"—may not we also reasonably "guess" that when, in the beginning he said "All ends in Unity," he knew what he was talking about? and when he told us "these firmaments [are] secured by starry nails"—to the floor-timbers of heaven, we suppose—he was equally well informed?

We do not think any less of the Author because of his thirst for "Unity," notwithstanding the evils which have ever attended consolidation of authority: we only regret that we have no more able statesman at the head of affairs at Washington, than those who are willing to follow the lead of a visionary foreigner, who knows nothing of our History nor of the temper of our countrymen; and whose chief ambition seems to be to secure what he calls a "Unification of North America."

As one of the Tracts of the Times, we commend it to collectors of such literature.

XXII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

NEW ENGLAND NUMISMATIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held on Thursday evening, Mr. C. S. Fellows, Vice-President for Massachusetts, in the chair.

After the reading of the records of the last meeting, reports of committees were received, and other business relating to the welfare of the Society was transacted.

A number of silver pieces were exhibited by one of the members, including a very fine dollar

of 1795, nearly proof, a fine proof dollar of 1842, a fine half dollar of 1794, etc. Another lot was presented for inspection, including several rare types of the Connecticut Colonial cents (among them a rare variety of the "African head"); one of the "Castorland" pieces in copper, struck from the unbroken die; also a "Fugio," or Franklin cent, which was considered by the members a very rare variety, having a raised, eight-pointed star on the reverse, instead of the usual depressed star.

Donations of coins and medals were received and handed to the Curator.

The interest taken in the pursuit of this instructive science is steadily increasing among the members of this Society; and in studying the history and origin of the various coins and medals with which we meet, we learn how closely the subject of Numismatics is connected with the ancient and modern history of the world. This is the true object of the study. Let one, for instance, take up an ancient coin; to the casual observer it is but a lump of metal, but to the Numismatist it may unfold a volume—the history of past events which then made even nations tremble, or the character of men, the greatest of the age in which they lived.

The forthcoming sale of the well-known "Mickley" collection was spoken of with interest by the members, several of them expressing their intention to attend the sale when it takes place in New York.

After an informal discussion of various topics of interest, the meeting adjourned for one month. —*Boston Transcript*, Oct. 19.

A CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.—On Wednesday the twenty-eighth of September, the Reformed Dutch Church, at Claverack, New York, celebrated its centenary. One hundred years ago that day, the edifice was completed. A very large audience was present at the celebration. In the morning, Doctor Porter of the *Christian Intelligencer*, delivered an able historic address. In the afternoon, the former Pastors delivered addresses. At noon, in the adjoining oak grove, tables were spread free and in abundance for the crowds of visitors. The occasion will be long remembered in old Claverack, the Dutch region of the Van Burens, Van Rensselaers, Livingstons, Van Wycks, etc., etc., as it had much of the "olden time" about it.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—The semi-annual meeting of this Society was held at their rooms, Worcester, yesterday morning, the President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, in the chair. The report of the Council, read by Samuel F. Haven, the Librarian of the Society, states that the present most imperative need is for more space; and the report congratulates the Society that its President has given to his continued

liberality that particular direction, he having purchased the land in the rear of the Society's building for two thousand, six hundred, and thirty-six dollars and twenty five cents, and donated it to the Society, thus allowing the extension of the present building, and also presented the sum of eight thousand dollars as the foundation of a building fund.

The Council acknowledges the donation of beautiful marble busts of Washington and Franklin, with marble pedestals for each, from the widow of the late Ira M. Barton, for many years an active member and a Councillor of the Society.

The children of the late Samuel Johnson, long the Treasurer and a Councillor of the Society, have, at the same time, made a large and most valuable donation of forty-one volumes of bound, and seventy-nine of unbound newspapers, eight hundred and ninety-three pamphlets and other articles. Some of the papers are very choice and rare.

The report included brief biographical notices of Hon. Ira M. Barton of Worcester, Hon. Charles G. Loring of Boston, and Caleb Atwater of Circleville, Ohio.

The Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., read his report, showing an aggregate of funds belonging to the Society of sixty thousand, five hundred, and thirty-four dollars and twenty-nine cents, which sum is securely invested in bank and railroad stocks and in bonds and United States securities.

The Librarian's report showed that eight hundred and sixty-three books have been received during the past six months, together with one hundred and four volumes of newspapers.

Remarks on various historical subjects were made by Rev. E. E. Hale, Charles Folsom of Cambridge, Dr. Green of Boston, Charles Deane of Cambridge and Rev. George Ellis of Charlestown. *Transcript*, October 22.

ANOTHER "RELIC" HUNTER.—A private note from the Pastor of the old church at Tarrytown, N. Y., informs us that on Saturday evening, the last of August, "some thief broke all the corners he could off the Andre monument and its base in this place. He must have secured ten or twelve pieces of the stone in all. Yesterday morning, on my way to church, I discovered the vandalism, the marks of which were yet fresh. The fellow even left a bit of candle still standing upon a ledge of the monument, which he used to light him in his robbery.

"I trust that any gentleman who may receive the offer of specimens of this monument, either by sale or exchange, whether soon or late, will make it known that justice may not be cheated of her due."

THE POPHAM CELEBRATION.—The twenty-

ninth of August, the anniversary of the founding of the first English Colony, under chartered occupation on the shores of New England, was a day of fog, clouds and constant rain. A goodly number of persons from the interior of the State, strengthened by a valued delegation from Massachusetts, assembled at Bath, to take steam transportation, for a dozen miles, down the Kennebec to the place of the ancient settlement. But the wise leaders on the Committee, and the practiced sagacity of the river-men, decided on the utter inexpediency of risking the navigation in such a storm, and the discomforts of its incessant cold and dampness. A correspondent of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* gives the following account of the day and its results.

"The people of Maine, with whom these Pop-ham celebrations have become very popular, awoke this morning to disappointment. Mammoth tents have been pitched near Fort Pop-ham, a huge oven constructed, and a stock of bivalves and a vegetables laid in for a big clam bake. Extra trains from Portland, Augusta and Lewiston had been arranged, besides a steamboat excursion from Portland. Two steamers and a flotilla of barges covered with awnings lay at the railroad wharf at Bath, to take the guests and visitors to the Fort. Preparations have been made for transporting and feeding five thousand people, and this number would have been present if the weather had been favorable. But Pluvius rains supreme, and we, the guests of the Sagadahoc House, are metaphorically afloat on a sea of uncertainty as to the plans and issue of the day, with no compass nor member of the Committee to give us a word of information. In the meantime we gaze into the flooded streets, and wait for something to appear besides water.

"A gleam of intelligence arrives. The Committee in Bath are in consultation by telegraph with the Committee in Portland, as to whether the celebration shall be postponed till to-morrow, or for one year. Hon. B. C. Bailey, Chairman of the Committee, at length appears, and announces that the railroad arrangements are so complicated and the company expected so numerous, that it will not be possible so to readjust the plans as to have the celebration on the morrow. Therefore it is postponed till next year."

SCRAPS.—Mr. Ralph I. Ingersoll has presented the New Haven Historical Society with several papers of peculiar interest. Among them is an autograph letter from Benjamin Franklin to Jared Ingersoll, in which Franklin criticises the strictness of the Sunday law in Connecticut; an inventory of the property of Benedict Arnold, in his own writing, in 1767, acknowledged before Roger Sherman, etc.

—The Department of State has received the following communication from our Consul at Naples, dated August nineteenth :

On Saturday the seventeenth. Mrs. Caroline Gould Hildreth, relict of Richard Hildreth, late Consul at Trieste, historian, etc., accompanied by her son Arthur, aged nineteen years, arrived in this city from Rome. She was attacked by cholera about noon, and died about one o'clock, A. M. Sunday morning, the eighteenth instant, in one of the Neapolitan hospitals, whither she was sent by the landlord of the hotel where they stopped. The son was not allowed to remain in the hospital with his mother. I knew nothing of their being in the city until seven or eight hours after she died. I immediately sent my Secretary to see about having her remains properly interred, which was finally accomplished; and she was buried in a separate grave in one of the cemeteries, at half past seven o'clock this morning. I have the honor to be your obedient servant.

ALFRED D. GREEN, U. S. Vice-Consul.

—In the neighborhood of New Haven, a faithful and capable minister, who is in the decline of life, having preached more than a quarter of a century, has been obliged to leave his congregation and the work of the ministry, because his salary was so pitifully small, and to labor at the bench of a carpenter. He never learned the trade, yet his natural ingenuity enables him to obtain wages which amount to three hundred dollars more per annum than the total amount of his salary while a preacher. He graduated at a college by the most indomitable efforts, sawing wood and laboring out of study hours, to obtain means with which to support himself at the university.

—We learn that the Harvard College Library has recently received from Hon. Charles Sumner a collection of pamphlets and more than four hundred valuable volumes. For a long series of years Mr. Sumner has been a benefactor of the library; and within five years he has given to it more than seven thousand pamphlets and one thousand volumes, among which are many of great value, which could not have been otherwise procured. These include many sent to him from the authors in Europe, besides a large collection belonging, during his life, to his brother, the late George Sumner, and containing the autographs of the authors. Mr. Sumner's example is worthy of being followed.—*Advertiser*.

—The oldest couple in Ohio are Mr. and Mrs. Boyd, at Ironton. He is one hundred and ten, and she one hundred and seven. They get mad at each other every little while and threaten to obtain divorces. The other day the dame refused to sew on a shirt button for her spouse, when he

indignantly inquired "if he had got to live so all "his life?"

—The oldest person in the State of Connecticut is Mrs. Lord of East Lynne. She is one hundred and seven years old, and retains her mental faculties wonderfully. Her pet theme of conversation is of the Revolution, which she distinctly remembers. Her eyesight is somewhat faded, but she easily recognises friends, and accomplishes a wonderful amount of knitting.

—Ex-Governor Throop, celebrated his eighty-third birthday a few days ago. He is yet hale and hearty, and as sprightly, apparently, as he was ten years ago. He resides on his farm near the Owasco Lake, Cayuga County, and continues to take great interest in public affairs.

—Two veteran printers—Charles McDevitt and Thurlow Weed—met recently at New York, for the first time in fifty years. In 1816 they were journey-men together. Mr. McDevitt was a compositor and Mr. Weed a pressman upon the first tracts published by the American Tract Society.

—Mrs. Hill, of New York, has drawn in a raffle, the splendid snuff-box which Louis XVI. gave to Colonel Laurens, our first minister to France, and which destitution, caused by the war, had forced his descendant, a lady of South Carolina to part with.

—A Bust of Lamartine, by Adam Solomon, has been presented to the New York Historical Society by Doctor G. L. Ditson, formerly of Boston, in behalf of the family of the late Commander Washington Bartlett.

—Mr. James Farmer, a revolutionary veteran, died on Saturday last, in Campbell county. He was one hundred and seven years old, and served in the two last campaigns of the revolution. *Richmond Examiner*, August 21.

—The "Swamp Angel" is now lying at a Trenton (N. J.) machine shop awaiting its turn to be broken up and fashioned into more peaceful and useful implements. A large number of people daily visit the factory to see this historic cannon.

—A portrait of Washington, painted by Stuart, in 1788, inherited by a descendant of the first President of the United States, now living at Fredericksburgh, Va., in reduced circumstances, is on exhibition and sale in Baltimore.

—A lot on Lake street, Chicago, forty by one hundred and ten feet, sold last week for one hundred thousand dollars. This is the highest price ever paid in Chicago.

—Mr. Jackson Marr, of Fauquier, died a few days since. He was the brother of Captain J. Q. Marr, the first Confederate soldier who was killed during the war.